THE Secret History OF EUROPE.

SHEWING

That the late Greatneſs of the *French* Power was never ſo much owing to the Number or Goodneſs of their Troops, and the Conduct of their Miniſtry at Home, as to the Treachery and Corruption of the Miniſters Abroad.

Giving a Full Account

Of the Inſincerity of *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*, in the Triple League.

Of the Sieur *De Vit*'s Correſpondence with *France*, and his Murder by the Rabble.

Of the Cloſe Alliance between *Charles* II. and *Lewis* XIV.

Of the Poiſoning of *Madam*.

Of the Intrigues of Mr. *M*—— Ambaſſador in *France*, and the E. of *D.* T——r in *England*.

AND

Of the Secret Treaty between King *James*, and the *French* King.

The whole Collected from Authentick MEMOIRS, *as well Manuſcript as Printed.*

LONDON:

Printed for the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1712. Price 3 *s* 6 *d*.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

THE PREFACE:

THE General good Reception that Dr. Welwood's Memoirs met with, made me put these Observations on several Parts of our own History, and that of EUROPE, into the following Method, that by reviving some past Facts, the surer Judgment might be made of the Future. These are not pretended to be such Anecdotes, as are no where else to be met with, nor were Dr Welwood's of that kind; but most of them are like his, in separate Pieces, and some of very different Natures, which probably would never have fallen into the Hands of one Man, at least he would not have made the same use of them, which these are intended for, they being no where put in so proper a Light. The Design will, we hope, presently

ly appear to have been Honeſt, and proſecuted with no other View, than to call to our Remembrance what the Men were, and what the Principles, that brought Europe *to the Brink of Slavery, by advancing the Power of* France? *What were the dreadful Effects of Faction and Corruption in* England, Holland, *and other Nations, when the* French *King had by his Artifices, engag'd Parties there in his Intereſt, which is a ſufficient warning to Us and our Poſterity, to truſt none ſuch again, but beware of the ſame Wicked Practices, and not hearken to the Deluſion of* France, *eſpecially now it is in our Power to render them for the future uſeleſs, by reducing her to ſuch Limits, as ſhe may be afraid to tranſgreſs.*

The Facts, and the Occaſional Reflections, will ſave the Trouble of a large Preface. I ſhould have obſerv'd, what particular Reaſons I had to diſtinguiſh theſe Events from others in the ſame Period, but I believe they are ſo plain, that to mention them, would be thought Impertinence.

N B. The Abſence of the Author from the Preſs, while theſe Sheets were Printing, has occaſion'd ſome Errors, which being of no great Importance, he deſires the *Generous Reader* to excuſe and amend them.

THE

Secret Hiſtory

OF

EUROPE, &c.

ALL *Europe*, Twenty Years ſince, were juſtly alarm'd at the Greatneſs of the *French* Power, which occaſion'd the forming a Mighty Allyance to reduce it to the Condition 'tis at preſent in. Thoſe who reaſon'd on that Prodigious Greatneſs, deriv'd the Riſe and Growth of it ſometimes from the Situation and Advantages of *France*, ſometimes from the Number and Valour of her Troops, and ſometimes from the Ambition of the Prince, confirm'd by the Councils of Two of the greateſt Miniſters the World ever produc'd, *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, who ſucceeding one another, maintain'd a ſteady Deſigning Miniſtry above Thirty Years, which is ſufficient to ex-

tend the Glory of any Monarchy much leſs of ſo powerful a one.

In a Nation where there is an *Eternal Fluctuation of Councils*, as *De Wit* ſaid of *England*, nothing can be expected but Shame and Confuſion. This Fluctuation is obſerv'd to have prevail'd only ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and moſt of all in the Reign of King *Charles* II. The ſame *De Wit* ſpeaking of the Miniſtry then in *England*, expreſs'd himſelf thus: *I know not the preſent Miniſtry, and can ſay nothing to them; but a great deal might be ſaid of your uncertain Conduct ſince the Reſtauration*, he added, *that this Uncertainty ſeem'd fatal to our Conſtitution, he wou'd not judge from what Grounds.* " Mais que depuis le 'temps de " la Reyne Eliſabet, il ny avoit eu qu'une " Fluctuation perpetuelle en la conduit " del' Angleterre, avec laquelle on ne- " pouvoit Jamais prendre de meſures pour " deux Annees de Temps." *Since the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth *there has been nothing but a perpetual Fluctuation in the Conduct of* England, *and Meaſures are not to be taken with us for Two Years together*; which he took notice of more than once. And if our Councils are now more conſtant and certain, I am at a loſs what Inſtances to give of it. The Prince of *Orange* ſaid to Sir *William Temple*, in a Converſation with him on this Subject, *Was ever any thing ſo hot and ſo cold as this Court of Yours? Will the King, that is ſo often at Sea, never learn a Word that I ſhall never forget ſince my laſt Paſſage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man*

at

at the Helm Steddy, Steddy, Steddy. This Steddineſs has been always in the Adminiſtration of *France*, from the Fatal Æra that our Inconſtancy commenc'd. The Three laſt Kings have perſu'd one Point, and by the ſame Methods aggrandiz'd the Monarchy; but neither the Strength of their Army, the Wiſdom of their Councils, or the Certainty of their Conduct, cou'd have rais'd the *French* Power to ſuch a height, had they not met with a general Corruption in all the Courts of *Europe* that ſhou'd have given a Check to it. The only Powers that ſeem'd to be in a Condition to keep the ballance even in the Empire of Chriſtendom, between the Two Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, were *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*; and theſe were united to that purpoſe in the Famous *Tripple League*: But it was a diſſembled Union, and all the Miniſters of the Three Nations, who had the Conduct of it, were in the *French* Intereſt, as well in *Holland* as in *England* and *Sweden*. The general good Character that Monſieur *De Wit* had for love to his Country, and his great Capacity for Government will render any Attempt to leſſen it diſagreeable to moſt Readers, but I only deſire their Patience till they have perus'd the following Pages, and if it does not then appear that the Penſionary of *Holland* was a Penſioner of *France*, I ſhall deſervedly incur the Cenſure of Injuring one of the greateſt Reputations that Hiſtory can furniſh us with. The View I had in looking farther into the Affairs of *Europe*, at this

Juncture, than the common Annals, was to ſee by what Methods it was that *France* acquir'd the Power ſhe has now loſt, that they might be known and avoided in our future Conduct; and that we might never run into the ſame Errors again, or be fond of a Nation that has been Fifty Years corrupting the Manners and Politicks of all others with which ſhe has had any Commerce, ſo long has ſhe look'd with a covetous Eye on the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and us'd all her Arts and all her Power to poſſeſs herſelf of it, in Whole or in Part. For this ſhe has ſometimes made uſe of Arms, ſometimes of Treaties, and all againſt Juſtice and Honour; for the Foundation of all the Partition Treaties for the Monarchy of *Spain* is laid in Perjury, and the Breach of the moſt ſolemn Contracts; whereby the *French* King had renounc'd for ever all Pretences to the Dominions of *Spain*, without which Renunciation he had never had any: But this is as well known as the *French* King's Diſpoſition to break any Treaty when he thinks it for his Intereſt, and therefore I ſhall not enlarge upon this Head.

Monſieur *De Wit* was ſo ſenſible of the Deſigns of *Lewis* XIV. on the Succeſſion of *Spain*, that even during the Life of *Philip* IV. he propos'd to the Count *D Eſtrades*, the *French* Ambaſſador in *Holland*, to devide Part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* between his Maſter and the States, and with the Reſt to form a Republick, to enter into an Alliance with the *United Provinces*, as the *Griſons*

Griſons are united to the *Swiſs*. His Propoſals were, that *Cambrai*, *St Omer*, *Aire*, all *Artois*, *Bergue Se. Vinox*, *Furnes*, and *Newport*, ſhou'd be added to *France*; and *Oſtend*, *Bruges* with what is on the Continent, as far as *l'Ecluſe* to the *United Provinces*. To which the Ambaſſador reply'd with the Frankneſs and Sincerity ſo much practis'd by the *French* Politicians, that *He did not know his Maſter had any Thoughts of aggrandizing himſelf on the ſide of* Flanders, *on the contrary, he was contented with what he held, without being deſirous of enlarging his Limits:* Which one wou'd wonder how a Man cou'd ſpeak with a grave Face to one who knew his Maſter and him as well as they did themſelves; but the Penſionary was as great a Maſter in the Arts of Diſſimulation as the Ambaſſador, and did not give over the Project. The Count *D'Eſtrades* Letter, *Vol.* I. *Page* 101.

There were at the ſame time Deputies at the *Hague* from *Flanders*, to propoſe an Alliance between all the 17 Provinces, for their common Defence; which the *Louveſtein* Faction in *Holland* having communicated to the *French* Court, Care was taken to render their Deputation ineffectual, at the ſame time that the *French* Ambaſſador ſeem'd very earneſt to have it forwarded; and *Lewis* XIV. himſelf was ſo coy, as to the propos'd Partition, that he wrote to his Ambaſſador. *I am very glad the Sieur* de Wit *is ſenſible, and ſees ſo plainly by your diſcovering to him my moſt Secret Thoughts and Intentions, on the Propoſals which have been made him, that I am not ſo dangerous a Neighbour* Ib. 109.

bour, nor a Prince ſo immoderately Ambitious, nor ſo Covetous of another's Territories, as my Enemies have publiſh'd with odious Exaggerations to create every where a Jealouſy of my Power. As to that, I thank God, I think my Lot is good enough of itſelf, to cure me of any Concern or violent Deſire to extend my Dominions, and provided I can keep thoſe who do not love me (whoſe vaſt Deſigns or too great Power ought to be ſuſpected by me) in a Condition to do me no Hurt, I ſhall think my ſelf happy enough in what I have, and be very well contented with my preſent State. We ſhall, in due time, ſee what a Man of Diſintereſt and Moderation he is; for which bleſſed Qualities he ſo ſeriouſly thanks God. He was ſo very well pleas'd with *de Wit* s Offer of ſo good a Share of the *Spaniſh* Provinces in the *Netherlands*, that *he was extreamly edify'd with his Prudence and Affection for his Perſon and Glory*, adding, *It ſeem'd as if God had deſign'd him for great Things*; and that, *he thought, his acquiring ſo good a Friend in him was not the effect of hazard, but of Divine Providence*; and in return, for his friendly Diſpoſition to a Partition, he *promiſes him Powerful Protection in all his Intereſts, if Occaſion ever ſhou d offer*. Whoever reads *Montanus*'s Hiſtory, will ſee what Friends the *Louveſtein* Faction were to their Country: Of theſe *de Wit* was Chief, and the firſt Man that ever thought of giving a Foot of *Spain* to the *French* King ſince the *Pyrenean* Treaty; but their Attachment to that Monarch was ſuch, that it made way for the Conqueſt he threatned 'em with in 72, by the Diviſions they occaſion'd, and the Confuſion or Treachery of their Councils.

Ibid.

The

The good Man Monſ. *de Wit*, in return to his Majeſty's Compliment, promis'd he would never *fail in Fidelity to his Majeſty's Service and Glory*. No ſooner did the *French* King find that the Penſionary was willing to part with ſomething of *Spain* to him, but he wrote to his Miniſter at the *Hague*, that he *deſir'd to have the Means put into his Hands, to give him ſome effectual Marks of his Eſteem and Affection*, which, ſays he to his Ambaſſador, *I ſhou'd do with a great deal of Joy*; *and if you can bring him to accept them, you will do me a very agreeable piece of Service*. I cannot omit another Paſſage in that Letter: *Repreſent to him how important it is to improve Opportunities, when Matters are will diſpos'd*; *and not leave to the Levity of the People the Leiſure and Means of changing Thoughts*. You muſt know that when People come to the Uſe of their Underſtandings, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty always calls it their *Levity*; and therefore he is ever in haſte, when a Treaty is going forward that is more for his Advantage than theirs. I need not take notice of the King's Meaning, by having *the Means put into his Hands to give Monſ.* de Wit *effectual Marks of his Love and Kindneſs*, the Reader will perceive he would reward him with a luſty Bribe; whether he did it or not Hiſtory does not tell, but the Ambaſſador writes to his Maſter, *he cou'd perceive his Majeſty's Offers touch'd him very nearly*. Such things are always done in private, and how it was tranſacted remains yet in the dark. The Sequel ſhews the King and the Penſionary were very well Ib. 113.

pleas'd with one another; the latter being ſo fond o' the Partition, that he ſeem'd to uſe Violence on the King's Modeſty; for when his Miniſter was preſt about it the
123. next time, he tells him warmly, *he had ſeen how far his Majeſty was from aggrandizing himſelf on the ſide of* Flanders, *that he look'd upon himſelf as poſſeſs'd of enough without deſiring more, and that ſince he knew the King's Intentions the Ambaſſador deſir'd he might hear no more of it for he did not know how the King wou'd take it.* The *Louveſtein* Party, call'd alſo the *French* Faction, wou'd not be ſatisfy'd with all this, nor hearken to the *Flemiſh* Deputies who daily ſollicited an Alliance, and were even recommended by *France*. Nothing wou'd content them but the giving *Lewis* XIV. ſome of thoſe Provinces; and the Faction were ſo fond of it, they wou'd have the *Partition Treaty* paſt againſt all Forms and Rules, and not be communicated to the Sta es General till it was done, and cou'd not be undone; for there were a great many Wiſe and Honeſt Men in the *United Provinces*, who were for the *Engliſh* Intereſt; and wou'd oppoſe any Meaſures for the extending the *French* Tyranny. That the Treaty was to be manag'd clandeſtinely, any one may ſee, by what the Ambaſſador writes his Maſter. *For the Security of this Treaty,* Monſ. *de Wit* ſaid *he*
May 24. 1663. *ſaw but one Expedient, and that is, Your Majeſty having declar'd your Pleaſure herein, and ſent the neceſſary Powers to treat, he wou'd talk to his particular Friends of the Province of* Holland, *as the Burgomaſters and Penſionaries of the Cities*

Cities of Amſterdam, Dort, Rotterdam, Haerlem, Delft, *and* Alcmaer, *and diſpoſe them to ſign the Treaty with him, in the name of the Province of* Holland, *with great Secrecy; and when the Time came, the Province ſhou'd declare ſhe had made it, and deſire the ſaid Treaty to be executed.* 'Tis plain by what follows, that the Penſionary courted *France* to embrace the Partition; for the *French* Miniſter was ſtill very ſhy, and Monſ. *de Wit* asking him, How he lik'd the Project? The Ambaſſador reply'd, *There were very fine Thoughts in it; but he cou'd not give him his Advice in an Affair which hitherto ſeem'd to him, to be very far from his Majeſty's Intention.* The Count *D'Eſtrades* knowing very well, that whatever his Maſter might talk of a Partition, and whatever Treaty he might enter into about it, his Intentions were to ſwallow up all the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion; and that he made a ſhew of approving the Deſign, only to puzzle it. He demanded *Ghent* and *Mechlin*, which he knew the *Dutch* wou'd not conſent to; becauſe, as I have obſerv'd already, this matter was only carry'd on by a *French* Faction, and was to be done privately, and in a hurry; for the Ambaſſador tells his Maſter: *I muſt ſincerely own to your Majeſty my Diffidence of the Event, and my fear that it being neceſſarily to be communicated to Five or Six Perſons of the Province of* Holland, *the Secret may not be kept, on which, however, the whole Affair depends*, it wou'd not bear the light and the fair Diſcuſſion of the Publick. From this time the Treaty went on with *June* 21.

ſeeming

ſeeming good-will on both ſides; but *de Wit* took all the Precautions imaginable to prevent its taking Air, as alſo any Oppoſition; to which purpoſe the Count *D'Eſtrades* writes to the King: *To go to work for the Execution of the Project, Monſieur* de Wit *is about taking a Journey in the Province of* Holland, *to gain the Cities of* Dort, Rotterdam, Leyden, Delft, Haerlem *and* Amſterdam; *and to do it with the more Secrecy, he intends to go to a Houſe between the latter and* Utrecht, *under pretence of viſiting the Sieur* de Groot, *his Uncle, who is the Owner of it, and thoſe of his Friends, whoſe Aſſiſtance he deſigns to uſe in this Affair, are to rendezvous there. They will ſo order it, that Deputies depending on him, ſhall be choſen for the next Aſſembly the* 10*th of* July, *and ſuch as he can diſpoſe for your Majeſty's Intereſts.* Can any thing in the World be more evident than that thoſe who promoted this firſt Treaty of Partition were Creatures of *France*? Yet we ſhall ſee how ſhe tricks them, and without performing one Article of the private Treaty, leaves them to the Reſentments and Rage of their Country.

June 26.

The 29th of *June* 1663, that King wrote to his Ambaſſador: *I have ſtill accepted of this ſecond Propoſal, on the ſame Terms the ſaid Sieur* de Wit *thought fitting and juſt for each, without any Reſtitution or Alteration imaginable.* So that we find the Buſineſs is done, and the Treaty concluded by the Penſionary only; and it does not appear that even the States of *Holland*, his Maſters, knew any thing of the Matter. I cannot but mention

mention one Reaſon *de Wit* gave the *Dutch* Burgomaſters for this Treaty with *France*, *which was to prevent being over-run by the* Turks: There being nothing ſo foreign and diſtant, which that crafty Miniſter cou'd not improve to his Purpoſe. *D'Eſtrades*, ſays *De Wit*, told the Deputies, *He cou'd not but be apprehenſive that in a little while, their Country would have a Barbarous Nation for their Borderers, whoſe Power was ſo great, their State wou d not be able to reſiſt*, and therefore a League was to be enter'd into with *France* againſt the *Turks*; which paſt current with the Burgomaſters and Penſionaries; for there being not one of all the *Louveſtein* Faction, who had Cunning enough to find out *de Wit*'s Deſigns, or ſee through his Politicks; every thing he ſaid to 'em was taken as an Effect of his profound Policy, and his Craft and Fraud never ſuſpected, it being diſguis'd with the Specious Pretence of *Love to his Country*. The Ambaſſador, not long after, writes his Maſter, *the Penſionary left all the People confirm'd in the fear of the* Turks *Power*, and he alſo impos'd on the poor *Dutch*, by repreſenting to 'em, that *'twou'd be difficult to engage the King to defend them againſt the* Turks, unleſs they came into this Partition Treaty, which, as is before mention'd, was tranſacting while the King of *Spain* and his Son were ſtill living, and the Renunciation but of Four Years date.

This Partition not taking effect, through the Difficulties it met with, the *French* Ambaſſador inſinuated to *de Wit*, that his Maſter's

Maſter's *Renunciation* of the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion was *invalid*, becauſe all the Queen's Portion was not paid. To which the Penſionary, with great Civility reply'd, *He thought his Majeſty's Pretenſions had Reaſon on their ſide.* One thing I cannot omit in this matter, which is, the extream Delicacy of the *French* King's Conſcience, in keeping his Treaties; for at the very time this Project of Partition was on foot, juſt upon the concluſion of the *Pyrenean* Treaties, he writes to his Miniſter: *The Execution of theſe Two Articles being a notorious Breach of the Peace, it ſeems to me we can't in Decency or Honour incert them in a Treaty, wherein, in another place, we declare our Intention is to keep religiouſly the late Treaties of Peace made with* Spain. Yet the 21ſt of *September*, he ſent his Ambaſſador at the *Hague* a Project to divide the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, by which he promis'd to give all the Places that ſhou'd fall to him in right of his Wife, in the *Low Countries*, their Liberty, except *Cambray*, *Aire*, *Newport*, *Furnes* and *Binch*, and the Lordſhips of *Caſſel*, *Balieu*, and *Popringue*, which he kept for himſelf, and gave the States *Oſtend*, *Plaſſendal*, *Bruges*, *Damme*, *Blenquenberque*, *Gelderland*, the Four *Spaniſh* Quarters of *Outermeuſe*, and the Caſtles of *Navaigne* and *Argenteau*. This Project was offer'd to *de Wit*, and at the ſame time the Ambaſſador repreſented to him the Nullity of the *French* King's Renunciation, becauſe *it was never ratify'd in* France; which, ſays the *French* King in one of his Letters, *was expreſly ſtipulated by the Marriage Contract*;

Contract; but he ſoon got over that expreſs Stipulation. And for theſe ſtrong Reaſons the Penſionary, as the Count tells the King, *was fully convinc'd of the Juſtice of his Majeſty's Rights, and he doubted not he was alſo of his Moderation, and wou'd act in it as the King wou'd have him.* p. 175.

While this Matter was depending, a Report was ſpread, That the King of *Spain* was dead, and immediately the Projected Partition and Republick are drop'd, and nothing talk'd of but the Queen's Rights to the Succeſſion of *Brabant* and *Namur*, as Eldeſt Daughter; the Females, by a Firſt Wife, as he pretended, ſucceeding before the Males by a Second; but this Affair was of ſuch Importance, that *Lewis* XIV. himſelf was puzzled to make it out clearly, and therefore having order'd it to be examin'd at *Paris*, he writes to his Miniſter at the *Hague*: *If the Sieur* de Wit *inclines to ſerve me, as I am aſſur'd he does, he will adviſe to it, and might perhaps furniſh me with good Memoirs. I am very ſenſible of the obliging way he takes in all things relating to my Intereſt, as alſo of his Sincerity and Openneſs of Heart, I ſhall always behave my ſelf in the ſame manner with reſpect to him, and have the ſame Confidence in him.* There was now a wonderful Endearment between the King and the Penſionary, notwithſtanding the former had laid aſide the *Partition Treaty*, to look into his Wife's Right to thoſe Two Provinces in her Brother's Life time. However, on ſome Jealouſy of a Diſpoſition in *England* to treat with *Spain*, and of p. 192.

the

the *Dutch* to embrace the League with the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, the moſt Chriſtian King ſpeaks in another Tone, and threatens them to enter into a Treaty with *England*, *Which*, ſays he, *I can do to morrow*, for it ſeems he knew more of us than the *Dutch* did, and had a better Correſpondence with the Court of *England* than *De Wit*. The *French* King's inſiſting on the Succeſſion of *Namur* and *Brabant*, created terrible Apprehenſions in the *Dutch*; and the Penſionary was forc'd to ſubmit, in ſome meaſure, to the ſtrong Diſpoſition of the People to league againſt *France*, at leaſt not to think of concluding a Treaty which was to give that Crown ſo much beſides thoſe Two Provinces, *Lewis* XIV. reſolving not to diſiſt from his Pretenſions to them. Upon this the *French* Ambaſſador writes to his Maſter: *The Sieur* de Wit *is not eaſily to be led away, when he thinks his Reputation concern'd, he having advanc'd far in the Buſineſs without much Communication; and having had the Boldneſs to do it of himſelf, and without Order, of which I fear the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador will make fine Work*, as 'tis very probable he wou'd have done, had not *De Wit*'s Power been ſo great, that no Foreign Miniſter cou'd be heard but by his Means, nor ſucceed in any Negotiation which the Penſionary did not countenance. The latter labour'd with the Province of *Holland* to bring them to accept of the Partition Treaty, as the *French* King wou'd have them; which the City of *Amſterdam*, and the other Cities, wou'd not conſent to. The Penſionary

p. 213.

ſpar'd

ſpar'd for no Induſtry to diſpoſe them to it, he put off the Meeting of the States, and got a Deputy choſen for *Amſterdam* to his mind, and the great Satisfaction of the *French* Ambaſſador, who tells the Count *de Lionne* in one of his Letters: *No Man cou'd do better than Monſieur* DeWit *has done, and 'tis not his fault if the King has not Satisfaction; his own Intereſt is engaged in it alſo, and he perceives if the Treaty he propos'd does not go forward, he's not ſtrong enough alone to maintain his Party againſt the Cabals which are forming to deſtroy it. I cou'd do no leſs than thank him for his good Diſpoſition for his Majeſty's Service, and aſſure him, if he did any thing which ſhew'd his Inclination and Affection to the King, he might depend upon his Protection in his own Intereſts; and I might tell him before hand, he might venture with ſuch a Second to act vigorouſly, and not doubt of Succeſs. I obſerv'd he was very well pleas'd, and I hope I may next Poſt be able to write you ſomething more than all this.* What can thoſe Gentlemen, who have ſo high an Opinion of the Penſionary's Honeſty and Ability, think of this? Was it not the Intereſt of the *United Provinces* to league with *Spain* and *England* againſt *France?* And did he not ſacrifice it by being ſo eager for this Partition? What Reaſon he had we find by the Count *D'Eſtrade*'s ſaying, *He perceives if the Treaty he propos'd does not go forward, he's not ſtrong enough alone to maintain his Party againſt the Cabals that are forming to deſtroy it:* And the *Frenchman* cou'd not, at that time, have promis'd him a better Second than p. 238.

than his Maſter. In the mean while the Penſionary found his Treaty at a ſtand, and the *Dutch* began to be inquiſitive about the *French* King's pretended Right, to which *Lewis* XIV. gives them this ſatisfactory Anſwer: *His Majeſty finds his Right abundantly, and beyond what he expected when he began the Inquiry.* And at laſt the Count *D'Eſtrades* wrote to him: *I confeſs, Sir, the only way for the good of your Service, and the Preſervation of the Rights you may one Day have to the* Netherlands, *is not to be bound to any Condition; but for your Majeſty to be left at full liberty to do, when time ſhall ſerve, what you ſhall think fit.* For the Ambaſſador was a little honeſter than his Maſter, and wou'd not have him conclude a Treaty, which he was very well ſatisfy'd wou'd be made only to be broken, and now the only Buſineſs that was left him in it, was to tell *De Wit* that his Majeſty wou'd not keep to the Partition Treaty, which had been depending a Twelve Month, and he did it in theſe Words: *That* Holland *only engageing, it was not certain the States General wou'd approve the Treaty. That he knew by experience to what a little Populace was liable, and 'twas not Prudence to expoſe ones ſelf to thoſe Hazards. That the Conditions wou d be much more certain, when they ſhou'd be agreed to by the States General, than if they were unſeaſonably agreed upon with the States of* Holland. *That he was particularly to declare to him, what an Eſteem his Majeſty had for his Friendſhip, of which he had receiv'd ſenſible Marks in the whole Management of this Negotiation, in return of which*

which he might depend on the King's Protection. *De Wit* was not ſo great a Stranger to the *French* King, as to be ſurpriz'd at this Prevarication, and tho' it left him in no very good Condition, making him accountable for a Clandeſtine Treaty which never took effect, *Yet he heard all*, ſays the Ambaſſador, *like a Man who expected it, and had gueſt as much*; And reply'd, *That ſince his Majeſty had Reaſons to put off the Treaty to another time, they muſt be ſubmitted to.* Notwithſtanding all this, and that the Secret Treaty of Partition prov'd ſo Abortive, the Penſionary appear'd to be in a very good Humour with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, whom he promiſes, *That he wou'd in the mean while ſo manage his Friends, as to keep them well affected to his Intereſts as he had brought them to be. That he was infinitely oblig'd to his Majeſty for the Honour he had done him in promiſing him his Protection, and wou'd let no Opportunity ſlip to ſhew his Gratitude.* It muſt not be forgotten, that the Emperor had now had Propoſals of a *Partition*, which was not ſo ſtrange a thing as ſome diſaffected People in *England* made of it ſometime after. The *French* King in the Management of this Matter, had taken no notice of his Father-in-law, the King of *Spain*, of *England*, of *Germany*, or any other of the Princes with whom he had Alliance, nor had the Penſionary dealt more ſincerely with the Allies of the State. This way of proceeding cou'd be occaſion'd by nothing in the World but *Lewis*'s Knowledge of his Perfidiouſneſs in break-

ing the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and *de Wit*'s being conſcious that he was doing that for *France* which the People in general wou'd obſtruct, if they had known of it. A fair Cauſe abhors ſuch dark Meaſures: And that the *French* King knew full well he was acting in an unwarrantable manner, may appear by what he wrote *De Wit*, as ſoon as he heard that the States inclin'd to a Treaty with *Spain*, and that there had been
p. 72. ſome ſteps taken towards it. *This Proceeding of theirs*, ſays his Majeſty, *or of thoſe who are at the Head of their Affairs, is not like that of a true Friend and Ally*; for if the thing is indifferent, *they ought not to make a Myſtery of it*; *if it is not, they are by the Law of Alliance oblig'd to give their Confederates notice of what paſſes, in which his Intereſt is ever ſo little concern'd.* Here the moſt Chriſtian King ſhews us, that he ſins againſt Knowledge, when he does not do what his Treaties oblige him to, and that whatever State is in alliance with others, it no longer deſerves the Name of a *True Friend and Ally*, if it does not give all its Confederates notice of what paſſes wherein their Intereſt is ever ſo little concern'd. I doubt not, if we were to carry our Inquiries ſo far, Inſtances might be given of the breaking of this Law of Alliances, but I believe it will always be found to be done by ſuch as were fond of *French* Politicks, and thought they cou'd not have better Authority for what they did, than the Example of the *French* King, for whoſe Intereſt Monſieur *De Wit* did not keep to this Law ſo well as he ought

ought to have done, making that King himſelf the Judge.

I will not pretend to determine whether the Penſionary was ſo Honeſt a Man as ſome imagine him to be, all I have propos'd to my ſelf in this Treatiſe, was to ſhew he was entirely in the *French* Intereſt, and out of an invincible Hatred to the *Orange* Party, wou'd hearken to no Terms of Alliance with *Germany*, *England*, and *Spain*, to prevent the growing Power of *France*; 'tis true, the Alliance of *England* was precarious, but that of *Germany* and *Spain* infallible, as being grounded on ſelf Preſervation as well as their own; and tho' a corrupt Miniſtry in *England* were at that time for a *French* League, the People were generally againſt it; and had *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Holland* united heartily againſt *France*, *England* muſt have done the ſame, or have thrown off the Vizard, and declar'd openly for *Lewis* XIV. which none of her Miniſters durſt do, ſo odious have any Engagement with the *French* Court been always to the *Engliſh*.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, aſſiſted by the Emperor's having propos'd a Treaty for the Preſervation of the *Netherlands*, and the Cities of *Holland* giving into it, the *French* Miniſter was allarm'd, and warmly repreſented to *De Wit* how ill it wou'd be taken by his Maſter; but the Penſionary aſſures him, he had given the *Imperial Reſident ſuch an Anſwer as ſhew'd he had nothing to hope for.* The Houſe of *Auſtria* being in no degree of Favour with the

Louveſtein Party, and tho' the *French* Power was ſuch, that it cou'd in a few Campaigns have reduc'd it to a Condition of begging Peace rather than diſputing Empire, yet they always talk'd of that Houſe as if it had been as powerful as in the Reign of *Charles* V. and of *France*, as if it had been as weak as when its Dominions were a third leſs, and the *French* divided as they then were. When the *Germans* and their Confederates had the leaſt Succeſs, it was the way of our Miniſters, and the *French* Faction in *Holland*, to cry up the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to leſſen the Fears of that of *Bourbon*; upon which the Prince of *Orange* ſaid a very juſt thing, when he was tamper'd with on that Subject: *There's no need of fearing the Houſe of* Auſtria, *till they go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrenees; *whenever that ſhall happen, I will be as much a* Frenchman *as I am now a* Spaniard, *but not before.*

During theſe Negotiations in *Holland*, there happen'd a Difference between the States and the Duke of *Newburgh*, the Elector of *Cologne*, and other neighbouring Princes which the Imperial Miniſter endeavour'd to have accommodated, to prevent the ill Conſequences of a Rupture, of which *France* wou'd be ſure to make an Advantage. *De Wit* cou'd not help complying with ſuch a Propoſal, and inform'd the *French* Ambaſſador of it; but told him with all, *It will appear they wou'd have obtain'd Satisfaction ſooner, by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Recommendation, than other Princes.* And not

not long after, at a Conference between the *French* Miniſter, and the Heads of the *Louveſtein* Faction, wherein it was notify'd that the Imperial Reſident had let the Emperor know there was no hope of bringing his Project about. The Count *D'Eſtrades* complemented the Sieur *De Wit* and the reſt, who behav'd themſelves as he wou'd have had them in that Affair, in the King's Name; and ſays in one of his Letters to his Maſter on that Occaſion, *They all promis'd me to be always firm in your Intereſts, and to pay a Deference to your Councils.* p. 331.

The Reaſon ſome Perſons give againſt any Suſpicion of *De Wit*'s falling in with the *French* King's Intereſt is his Profeſſion of *Repubican Principles*, 'tis true, he was educated in them, and had a Zealous Commonwealth's Man for his Father; he was himſelf always profeſſing a Zeal for the Service of his Country, but I am apt to believe that if he cou'd have ruin'd the Prince of *Orange*'s Party, and have maintain'd his own by any other Protection than that of *France*, he wou'd not have apply'd to the *French* King out of choice, there being ſuch a prodigious deal of difference between the Principles of Arbitrary Government and that of a Republick, in which the Penſionary was bred, that one can't imagine he was in love with the *French* King's Politicks, on any other account, than that he thought he cou'd not ſupport himſelf by any other Means. It muſt be own'd, he had a vaſt Capacity, ſince he cou'd of himſelf manage ſuch an

ungovernable People, and bring them into all his Meaſures; for there was hardly a Great Man in *Holland* that was of his Party. Thoſe that ſided with him were his Tools, and if Two or Three Wiſe Men ſeem'd to join with him, it was with Views quite different from his. They had all along a Veneration for the Houſe of *Orange*, and no Averſion to his Succeſſion to the Dignity of his Anceſtors, I mean particularly Monſieur *de Beverning* and Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, as able Men as *De Wit*, and much honeſter. Whereas almoſt all the hot Deputies who join'd in with the Penſionary, as they were devoted to *France*, ſo they were utter Enemies to the *Succeſſion*, and wou'd never hear of doing any thing for the Prince that might tend to his Succeeding his Father in the High Offices he held in that Commonwealth. Theſe Deputies were for the Partition we have been treating of, and theſe were the Men that had given the *French* Miniſter ſuch hearty Aſſurances of their eſpouſing his Maſters Intereſts on all Occaſions. Inſomuch that the Count wrote to him in the ſame Letter, *I can aſſure your Majeſty you are in ſuch Conſideration here, that they had not more Reſpect nor Deference for the late King* Henry *IV. than they have for your Majeſty; for they reſolv'd this Morning to form no important Deſign, in the Affairs which may happen to them, without firſt conſulting your Majeſty*, &c. I wou'd ask the Gentlemen that take Monſieur *De Wit*, and his Faction, to have been no Friends to *France*, Whether they think

think Monſieur *D'Eſtrades*, one of the ableſt Miniſters of his Time, was impos'd upon them? If not, Whether Men cou'd give greater Inſtances of their Affection and Devotion, than in this Declaration? The War between *England* and *Holland* was now breaking out, and the *Louveſtien* Party were the more ſtiff in their Conduct in it, becauſe they were afraid of the King of *England*'s ſupporting his Nephew, the Prince of *Orange*, in his Pretenſions to the Succeſſion, which if ever he obtain'd, they foreſaw it wou'd end in their Deſtruction. The Friends of that Prince, who were the true Friends of *England* and their own Country, had an Abhorrence of the Alliance with *France*, and the War with King *Charles* II. which the *French* King privately fomented, and the *Dutch* were encouraged chiefly in it, by his Promiſes to join with them, purſuant to a Treaty he had made with them in 1662. which he ſtill prevaricated in, ſometime on one Pretence, ſometime on another; and when he at laſt declar'd for the *Dutch*, he did it in ſuch a manner that it was plain he wou'd not have done it, had he not been afraid of the States clapping up a Peace with *England*, and entring into an Alliance with *Spain*, which was ſo apparently their Intereſt to do: Yet when it came to a Rupture, and the Penſionary ſaw how *Lewis* XIV. dealt doubly with him, out of pure Envy or Hatred to the Houſe of *Orange*, he ſuffer'd the *French* to amuſe and deceive him, and his Country to be expos'd to the

Hazards of a Cruel War rather than venture the Ruin of his Faction by perſuing juſt and open Councils. His Miniſtry was the moſt miſterious that then was in *Euorpe*, and indeed there are ſome Politicians, who, when their Counſels are ſet to light loſe all their Merit which was founded only on Prejudice and Ignorance. When a thing was offer'd in the Aſſembly againſt the *French* King, *He took the Deputies up*, ſays the Ambaſſador, *and told them his Majeſty was the Father of this State*, which appear'd moſt viſibly in the Year 1672. when he reſolv'd to be as much a Father of this Country as he was of his own, and therefore attempted by Conqueſt to unite them. He ſtarted his Queen's Rights to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, as often as he was ſollicited to fulfil the Treaty of 1662. and his Miniſter
P. 355. talk'd now in a true *French* Tone, *They muſt oblige themſelves to break with the Houſe of* Auſtria *to maintain the Queen's Rights, without being permitted to examine, Whether they are juſt or not?* And he backs this with a Reaſon which none durſt ſay a word againſt, *'Tis ſufficient that his Majeſty thinks them ſo.* Which was enough in all conſcience, to ſatisfy People who had ſo good an Opinion of *Lewis* XIV's Fatherly Care of them. The *Louveſtein* Party was the moſt zealous in the Courſe of the War, and the *French* Ambaſſador took care to keep 'em warm. Thoſe who were of another Sentiment, he call'd the *Spaniſh* Faction. And he tells Monſieur *de Lionne*, in his Letter of the 26th of *February* 1665.

I'm

I'm afraid of their accommodating matters with the Engliſh; *in ſuch caſe we ſhall have contented neither Party, and ſhall find it a hard matter to make any Progreſs in* Flanders; which is a Demonſtration of what Advantage the *French* thought it, to keep up the *Louveſtein* Faction in *Holland*, no leſs than the Securing the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, which the Penſionary muſt be a very ill Politician not to ſee, or a very ill Miniſter not to prevent; and ſince the former admits of no doubt, the latter muſt be the Conſequence from whence may be obſerv'd what is the Power of Ambition in ſome Minds, that it overcomes the Love of ones Country, and even all Sentiments of Honour and Gratitude; for it was to ſecure to himſelf the Employment he was in, that he ſacrific'd the true Intereſts of the State to the power of the *French* King. 'Twas by *De Wit*'s means that the Prince of *Tarente* was made Governour of *Boiſleduc*, which, as the Count *D'Eſtrades* wrote to the King, *Is the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable Place the States have. All the* Spaniſh *Cabal was againſt him, and even ſome of the States went from Houſe to Houſe, to ſollicite againſt him: Saying, 'twas very dangerous to put the Key of the Country into the Hands of a* Frenchman. *All which Monſieur* De Wit *and his Party got over, and the Prince carries himſelf very well towards thoſe that govern, and acts with a great deal of Zeal, in every thing which concerns his Majeſty's Service.* That the People in general did not approve of the Proceedings of the Penſionary and his Faction

Faction, appear'd by the Murmurings in all the Cities, *and their declaring aloud, they did not believe the* French *King wou'd aſſiſt 'em purſuant to his Treaties.* But *De Wit* and his Party were ſo bent againſt the *Engliſh*, that they did not preſs the King to the Performance of his Treaty, farther than conſiſted with good Manners, and their Fears of offending him. Nay, when after the *Engliſh* had beaten 'em at Sea, in 1665. and the *Spaniſh Party*, as the *French* Ambaſſadour call'd all that were againſt him, cry'd out the *French* King had abandon'd them, that it would be beſt to make Peace with *England*, and reſtore the Prince of *Orange* to his Offices. *De Wit* ſaid, *they ſhould rather temporize a little, and ſend to Monſieur* Van Beauringen *at* Paris, *to preſs the King to perform the Guaranty:* And he carry'd it by his Majority in the Aſſemblies, contrary to the General Sentiments of the People. The City of *Amſterdam* murmur'd, and exclaim'd againſt the Miniſtry. At *Leyden*, the Citizens threw a Drummer into the River, becauſe he Beat up for Men for the Service of the Lords the States, crying out *He ſhould beat for the Prince of* Orange, *and not for Traytors.* Neither was the Fleet free from Deſcontents. Several Sea-Captains, accompany'd with a great Number of Seamen, getting together, ſaid publickly, *They would never go to Sea again, if the Prince of* Orange's *Flag was not born.* And tho' *De Wit* had the Addreſs to keep the Fire from breaking out into a Flame for ſome Years,

yet

yet he durſt not Chaſtize the Offenders; and in the end, the Deſtruction which now, but threaten'd, overtook him. To avert the Blow, he labour'd as much as in him lay to prevent a General Aſſembly, which *D' Eſtrades* wrote his Maſter would be the Ruin of the Penſionary, whereas he Govern'd that of *Holland* at his Pleaſure; and *De Wit* was ſo Conſcious of the Diſpoſition of the *Dutch* towards him, that he was afraid to ſtay aſhore in the Year 1665. which was the Reaſon of his Soliciting a Commiſſion to go aboard the Fleet, comparing his Condition to *Mazarine*'s, who having almoſt all *France* againſt him, took on him the Command of the Army at *Rhetel*. He flatter'd himſelf if he could beat the *Engliſh*, he ſhould fix his Authority at Home, and the Danger of the War did not ſeem greater to him, than the Hazard of Mutinies and Inſurrections. For now tho' the Deputies were ſo much againſt the Prince of *Orange*, *the Sieur* De Wit, ſays D'Eſtrades, *had much a.o to defend himſelf in all the Matters laid to his Cha ge in this War.*

I have ſo often mention'd the *Louveſtein* Faction that it will not be improper to give a ſhort Account of them, and how they came to be ſo called. They were Originally of the *Arminian* Party, which in a Word, took in all the *Dutch* Tories, tho' they pretended a mighty Zeal for the Republick. But Sir *William Temple* gives us the beſt Image of them, in his *Obſervations on the United Provinces*, where he tells

us

us *their Principles were thought to lead them in* Barnevelt's *Time, towards a Conjunction, or at leaſt a Compliance with the* Spaniſh *Religion and Government; both which the Houſe of* Orange *in the whole Courſe of the War, endeavour'd to make irreconcileable with thoſe of that State.* One may by this Deſcription, ſee what excellent Patriots theſe were, who pretending a Zeal for Religion and Liberty, would have confirm'd 'em by Popery and the Inquſition. For what elſe are the *Spaniſh* Religion and Government, to which out of Hatred to the Houſe of *Orange*, who deliver'd 'em from Idolatry and Slavery, they were for complying? Now the *Arminian* Principles Infected the Church of *England*, in the Reigns of King *James*, and King *Charles* the Firſt; and Story informs us, that the Clergy than Infected, were the moſt Zealous for Ceremonies and Arbitrary Power. The Head of the *Arminians* in *Holland*, was *Barnevelt*, and in the Year 1650. *Jacob de Wit*, and five other Gentlemen, were ſeiz'd by Command of the Prince of *Orange*, Father of King *William*, for purſuing *Barnevelt's* Practices, and Impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Louveſtein*. *John De Wit* and his Party, continuing to maintain the ſame Principles, were term'd the *Louveſtein Faction*; and the Remembrance of his Father's Impriſonment, did, doubtleſs, animate him as much againſt the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt, as his pretended Jealouſie of the *Stadtholder*'s Power, which that *Faction* depriv'd him of in his Infancy, and Leagu'd

with

with the *French* ſo cloſely for Protection and Aſſiſtance againſt the Princes Party, who had early Apprehenſions of the Greatneſs of *France*, and were for entring into an Alliance with *Spain*, then reduc'd ſo low, that there could be no juſt Reaſon to fear any Danger from that Quarter. The People were generally well-affected to the Prince of *Orange*, after his Father's Death, and it was not without Inſurrections in ſeveral Places, that *John De Wit* on his being advanc'd to the Office of Penſionary of *Holland*, got the Dignity of Stadtholder to be ſuppreſt by a *Perpetual Edict*. The Inhabitants of *Dort*, *Enkhuiſen*, and *Hoorn*, took Arms, and the very Militia at the *Hague*, would not March till their Colours with the Arms of *Orange*, which had been taken from them, were reſtor'd. But the Prince being in the Cradle, and the *Dutch* having ſuffer'd very much by their War with the *Engliſh*, which made the *French* Name more acceptable, and by King *Charles*, who pretended to protect his Nephew, the Penſionary had Opportunities to promote Alliances with *France*, and that produc'd the Terrible Revolution in 1672, both to his Country and his Family. For if all that has been ſaid of his Conduct in that Affair, of his Allying with *France* rather than *Spain*, cannot prove his Partiality to the *French*, for the ſupport of his own Faction, let us ſee what Sir *William Temple* writes of it, and he having a very high Opinion of the Penſionary, is certainly an impartial Judge

in

in this Matter. It is in his Diſcourſe of *the Cauſes of the Fall of the* United Provinces, in the Year before mention'd. *But as* Holland *had ever defended it ſelf againſt* Spain *by* England *and* France, *ſo it ought to have done againſt* France, *by* England *and* Spain, *and provided early againſt their own Danger, as well as that of* Flanders, *by improving and advancing their Confederate League with* England *and* Sweden, *into a ſtrict Defenſive Alliance with* Spain, *as a Principal in the League; and by agreeing with that Crown to furniſh between them ſome conſtant Subſidiery Payments to* Sweden, *for the ſupport of their Standing Forces even in Time of Peace. This was the Deſire of* Spain, *this the Intereſt of all that meant to ſecure the Peace of* Chriſtendom, *and the Opinion of ſome of the* Dutch *Miniſters, tho' not of the Chiefeſt, till it was too late.* Is not this a Proof of what I have been intimating, that either the Penſionary was not that great Politician, or that Honeſt Man as ſome repreſent him? He muſt know all this as well as Sir *William Temple.* But an Alliance with *Spain*, would have outed him of his *Miniſtry*, and diſſolv'd his Factions which they could not bear the Thought of. Rather let the *French* come to the Gates of their Capital, give Laws to their States, and lay their Provinces waſte, than part with that Power which made him Courted Abroad, and fear'd at Home. That State is certainly in a miſerable Condition, which has at the Head of Affairs a Perſon who cannot continue in his Office with ſafety to his Country,

try, nor quit it with ſafety to himſelf, but is forc'd to increaſe the Publick Hatred by the Means he acquir'd it. There was no need of being ſo good a State-prophet as Sir *William* was, to foretel what would be the end of ſuch a Man. Above Two Years before, it happen'd he wrote to my Lord *Arlington*, that nothing could out Mr. *De Wit*, but ſome *Violent Revolution*, which indeed he was himſelf afraid of; and I do not believe a Miniſter of State, who knows he has in all things acted with an Honeſt Intention for the Publick, and not his Private Intereſt, ever was, or ever will be, apprehenſive of ſuch a Revolution. Innocence has no ſuch Fears, and Publick Merit will be too hard for Envy and Malice, where it has no mixture of Faction and Corruption. This Perſon had, 'tis true, one good Quality that would have made amends for many ill ones, had he not been ſo much a *Frenchman*, which was his not improving an Ordinary Fortune left him by his Father, to any Exceſs, at leaſt in Appearance, and deſpiſing that Pomp and Figure which others are ſo fond of. But one may very well ſuſpect, that a Man who had enter'd in ſo ſtrict a Correſpondence, with ſuch a King as *Lewis* XIV. in the Zenith of his Power and Riches, had ways to make his Majeſties Royal Bounty uſeful to his Party, if it was not to himſelf; and as Pride and Revenge had the Dominion in his Heart, ſo it was no wonder there was not ſo much room for Avarice, as one would expect, when a Man had

had ſo little, and ſo many Opportunities to have more.

I have often wonder'd how it was poſſible for Monſieur *De Wit*, and his Party, againſt the Bent of Six Provinces, and half of the Seventh, to engage the *Dutch* ſo cloſely as he did with the *French*. I doubt not they were great Profeſſors of Oeconomy, and mightily for the Conſtitution both in Church and State, that they rail'd at all thoſe that were for the Prince's Succeſſion to the *Stadtholderate* as Abettors of *Faction* and *Sedition*, that they magnify'd the Powers of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and leſſen'd that of *Bourbon*; and being in the poſſeſſion of all the Places of Truſt and Honour, cou'd oblige a ſufficient number to maintain themſelves in them. Yet this muſt ſurely be very difficult to accompliſh in a Country ſo tenacious of their Liberty, which they had ſo dearly purchas'd, and where the People were generally averſe to any Union with *France*. All things tending thereto being manag'd in the dark, or with a high Hand. During the firſt *Dutch* War, *Every one*, ſays D'Eſtrades, *is for an Accommodation with* England, *except Monſ.* De Wit, *and his Party. We are not look'd upon here as Friends, but are declaim'd againſt at a horrible rate, I cannot enough deſcribe to you how we are rail'd at here. Monſieur* de Wit *ſays little, 'tis rumour'd in the Cities, he has an Underſtanding with the King, and that he is a Traytor; and if he goes aboard the Fleet, 'tis becauſe he has Friends there, and will be ſafer than aſhoar.* All which the Penſionary did not

not matter, being concern'd for nothing but the *French* King's not declaring for the *Dutch*, as if he would do any thing *bona fide*, that was to be of any Benefit to them. *De Wit* was ſo obſtinate in this Adherence to *France*, that tho' the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, the Marquis *de Caſtel Rodrigo* wrote the States, that the War with *England* was come upon them with the Participation of *France*, and by her Councils; and that that of *Munſter* was in like manner fomented by her, yet Monſieur *de Wit*, notwithſtanding all the good Impreſſions that Intimation made in the Minds of the *Hollanders* got *what Reſolutions the* French *pleas'd to be taken.* And when his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had let the *Dutch* be well beaten by Land, before he made any Declaration in favour of them, as he was oblig'd to do by his Treaties, he at laſt does it with this ſingular mark of Grace to the Penſionary, commanding his Ambaſſador to acquaint him, that *one of the moſt preſſing Conſiderations which made him haſten his Declaration*, (which by the way had been demanded almoſt a Year) *was the particular Intereſt of the ſaid* De Wit, *and my Deſire to ſupport him, and diſperſe and render impotent all the Cabals forming in the State againſt him, to ruin him or weaken his Authority.* For which laſt Obligation, which the States were not one Penny the better for, the Fleet and Army he ſent having never done 'em the leaſt Service, he gives the Penſionary to underſtand that he *promiſes himſelf, he will at all times, and in all*

Affairs, give him effective Proofs of his Affection and Gratitude. To encourage him in it, he commands his Minister to tell him, "He had sent positive Orders to him, if "he thought proper, either for the Sieur "*De Wit*'s greater Security, or the better "and sooner to disperse the Cabals forming against him, that the Ambassador "shou'd do him any good Office, in his "Name, with the States, to favour the "Pensionary, to praise his Merit and "Services, and let them know how much "his most Christian Majesty thought it "for their Advantage to continue the "Trust they put in him; or if his Name "was not thought proper to be mention'd, "then the King's Ambassador was to inform them, that he had a great Esteem "for the *Present Ministry*, which seem'd to "his Majesty to be the best and most conducible to the Safety and Preservation of "the State. That as their good Friend "and Ally, and one so much concern'd in "their good Conduct, he exhorted them "vigorously to oppose the Intrigues, which "were but too well known to be carry'd "on in the Provinces to change the Administration, and his Majesty did it "the rather; for that if things shou'd so "happen, he cou'd no longer have the "*same Confidence* in them, because their "Enemies wou'd then be Masters, and "he cou'd expect no good from them." But tho' his most Christian Majesty seem'd to set so high a Value on his Declaration, it was not receiv'd in *Holland* with so much

Rapture

Rapture as he expected; they had been tir'd with his Delays, and thoſe who were not in the Secret, cou'd make no Conjecture, by Appearances, but that *Lewis* XIV. having drawn their Miniſtry into War, by hopes of Aſſiſtance, had no other Deſign than to ſee the Two principal Proteſtant States of *Europe* ruin one another by their mad Broils, that he might make his Market, and the more eaſily deſtroy their Religion, Liberty, and Trade. All the *Orange* Party took this Declaretion of his for Grimace, and the Penſionary being out of the way, the *French* Ambaſſador had the Mortification to find his Maſter's Friendſhip was look'd upon as dangerous as the *Engliſh* War. Vol. II. Accordingly he writes him: *The States wou'd* 48. *certainly have receiv'd your Majeſty's Declaration with more Joy than they did, but Monſ.* De Wit, *who prepares Men's minds to take things in a good Senſe, and ſhews 'em to be for the good of the State, is not now here.* The Miniſter, who us'd to ſet a Gloſs on the Councils of *France*, to extol that King's Affection for their State, to magnify the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Friendſhip of that of *Bourbon*, was abſent; and now the People, who had no ſuch Biaſs to influence them, receiv'd the pretended Declaration as Men of Senſe, who underſtood their true Intereſt. Tho' the *French* King had declar'd againſt *England*, yet he took care the *Dutch* ſhou'd not have any Benefit by it, and delay'd his Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, under the Duke of *Beaufort*, ſo long, that all the Action of the Summer, at Sea,

was over, before the *French* Squadron cou'd join the *Dutch*; and when the Junction was made, all the World ſaw the *French* were not in earneſt, being only Spectators of the War; which they were pleas'd to ſee proſecuted ſo vigorouſly between Two Proteſtant States, the Maritine Strength of Chriſtendom, which being deſtroy'd by themſelves, wou'd make way for him to uſurp the Empire both of Sea and Land. Yet for this ſhew of Friendſhip he demanded no leſs than the Town of *Maeſtricht*, which perhaps had been given him by the *French* Faction, if ſome of 'em had not had Offices and Poſts in that Government, which they were loath to part with, *Unleſs*, as *D Eſtrades* writes, *an Equivalent be promis'd.* 'Tis certain there was a Treaty on foot, in ſecret, to receive a *French* Garriſon into that important Place, *Lewis* XIV. pretending he cou'd not otherwiſe be ſafe, and ſecure the Aſſiſtance of *Holland*, when he ſhou'd, in his Wife's right, invade *Flanders*. But that was a ſtep the Faction had not Boldneſs enough to take, it was too obvious, and wou'd have open'd the blind Eyes of the deluded *Hollanders*; they were not all ſo ſtupid as we have frequently hinted; and now *De Wit* was aboard the Fleet, the Partizans of *Orange*, *Spain*, and *England*, ſcatter'd printed Papers againſt him, making him Author of the War, out of ambition to render himſelf Maſter of all Affairs; which ſucceeded ſo well, that he was publickly talk'd of as a *Traytor*, and ſome of the greateſt

Vol. II. p. 160.

greateſt Men in *Holland* threw up their Offices, becauſe they would not ſerve with him, particularly Monſieur *de Beverning*, to whom the *French* Ambaſſador went, to perſwade him not to lay down at ſuch a Juncture, for fear it might prove Injurious to the Penſionary. That Miniſter ſpoke much of the 6000 Men the *French* King had ſent them, to aſſiſt 'em againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*. Monſieur *de Bevering*, who had been Treaſurer, and knew the State of their Affairs, reply'd, 6000 *Men wou'd not ſave 'em, when there were* 20000 *in the Provinces, and their Country had been plunder'd*; for 'tis to be noted, that the Biſhop of *Munſter* had done 'em all the Miſchief he cou'd, before the 6000 *French* march'd to *Holland*.

When the Penſionary return'd from the Fleet, the *French* Ambaſſador was preſently with him, to let him know what a Friend he had in his Maſter. De Wit *expreſs'd himſelf to be very ſenſible of his Majeſty's Favour, and to deſire nothing ſo much as an Opportunity to ſhew his Gratitude by ſome Service*. He thought it convenient that the *French* Miniſter ſhou'd give the Cities to underſtand how much his Majeſty was ſatisfy'd with the preſent Miniſtry, and that if it was *chang'd*, he ſhou'd take other Meaſures; while Matters went on ſo amicably between the *French* King and the Penſionary the Proteſtant Intereſt ſuffer'd, and the Miniſters in *Holland*, as ſtrict as the Law is in ſuch Caſes, did not forbear preaching againſt the League with

France. He who was in poſſeſſion of the great Church in the *Hague*, whoſe Name was *Hotteman*, told 'em in the Pulpit, *God Chaſtis'd them for accepting the Aſſiſtance of an Idolatrous King, who wou'd be as ready to maſſacre them, as their Brethren were maſſacred on St.* Bartholomew's *Day, by another King his Predeceſſor, who beſides this Barbarity, caus'd ſeveral Innocents to be murther'd at* Antwerp, *and quitting the Alliance of a King of their Religion, to war with him by the Maxims of an ill Government.* The Preacher was, on complaint, brought before the States, who examin'd him, and ſeveral voted for his Diſcharge; but the *French* Faction, who in all places dread nothing ſo much as freedom of Speech, thought he ſhou'd be puniſh'd, becauſe, as the Ambaſſador ſays, *He aim'd at the King's Perſon.* Accordingly he was ſuſpended from the Church, not for Three Years, but *for ever*, tho' he was very much belov'd; yet, as *D'Eſtrades* writes further, *Things were ſo manag'd that nothing ill came of it.*

Notwithſtanding the inſignificancy of the *French* King's Declaration, He and his Miniſter continu'd to ſet a high Value on it, tho' it had not been a Guilder to the Advantage of the States; on the contrary, the Subſidy which was to be paid by *France* from the Rupture with *England* to that time, was only brought to an unreaſonable Account, drawn up by *Colbert*, wherein the States are charg'd with the Expence of the *French* King's Embaſſy to amuſe them with hopes of a Peace in *England*;

land; and that of the 6000 Men, who never got, or recover'd them an Inch of Ground from the Biſhop of *Munſter*, but Plunder'd the Country, Inſulted the Proteſtants in Divine Worſhip, and were ſo great a Grievance, that the Inhabitants were as weary of them as of the *Munſterians*, and ſuffer'd as much by them. Yet by *Colbert*'s Account, the States were 700000 Livres in Debt to his Maſter, from whom they expected twice the Sum; however the *French* Faction put up all this, and the Ambaſſador had Orders to *ſpeak freely to the Sieur* De Wit, *of the Queens Right to the* Netherlands; *and that he promis'd himſelf ſuch a Return from the Gratitude of the States, that they will joyn with him for the Defence and Support of his Right.* Here he ſpoke out, and the Penſionary had now no manner of Reaſon to doubt of his Deſigns on the *Netherlands*, which in good Policy he ſhould have prevented by Leagues againſt *France*, inſtead of maintaining a Dangerous and Treacherous one with her. For he had ſo infatuated his Party, that *D' Eſtrades* tells the King he *might do what he would with them*; and in the ſame Letter ſhews us what an eaſie People he had to deal with. *They muſt be in the beginning brought to Things unawares, and when they are once on the way, one may lead them as far as one will.* Things going as the Sieur *De Wit* would have them, there were a mean ſet of Men who in baſe Complacency to his Fortune, made their Court to him, whom a few Days before they had appear'd againſt with di-

ſtinguiſhing Warmth. For my part, I have often bluſh'd to ſee Men of Eſtates and Character, Courting Perſons of none, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they were Fortune's Favourites. Where there is not true Merit, which can never be without Sincerity and Honour, the good Days of ſuch Men will certainly be few; and thoſe that comply with them, ſeldom ſee the Reward of their Compliance: So haſty is Chance to turn the Wheel, when ſhe has reaſon to be aſham'd of the Perſon that's a top of it. The War with *England*, had given a terrible Blow to the *Dutch* Navigation, and as the Foundation of the Proſperity of the *Hollanders* is Trade, ſo when that was ſhaken, the Fabrick that it ſupported muſt be in danger of Ruin. The Publick Credit ſunk, and as we may perceive by the *French* Ambaſſador's Account of things, his own Friends were the Occaſion of it. *The great Plenty of Money*, ſays he, *begins to ceaſe: The Zeal of the City of* Amſterdam, *to ſupply the Publick, being decreas'd, every one keeps his Money cloſe; and all the Millions that Trade brings in don't way as they did, tho' thoſe that are at the Helm, hide this Change.* It however is a great Trouble to them, what every one feels, is not to be hid along; and 'tis in vain to ſay we are Rich, when want of Money is the Complaint every where. Few are ſo ſanguine, as to think well of Affairs, when they find the Publick Credit ſinking, and the Reaſons why it ſhould ſink in *Holland* are ſo plain, we need not give

our

our ſelves the trouble to mention them. Whatever Nation has Engagements with *France*, will never have her Credit high; there being ſomething in *French* Councils ſo Odious, that none will venture their Eſtates on ſuch a bottom, nor truſt thoſe that truſt them. The Rage of the *Dutch* Populace began to Flame out; Books were daily diſperſt againſt the Prime Miniſter, and ſome endeavour d to animate the Mob to riſe againſt him: The worſt way in the World of doing Juſtice; I had rather a Criminal ſhould eſcape, than the Rabble be his Judge and Executioner; and we can hardly allow of ſuch Madneſs, even when the whole is at Stake. For whatever the Multitude might be of Old, I never knew them in my Time but Raſh, and in the Wrong; and as I deteſt any Structure that's Built on their Fury, ſo I ſhould pitty that as much which is deſtroy'd by it. Notwithſtanding all this, the Penſionary being poſſeſs'd of the whole Miniſtry, having all Poſts and Preferments at his Diſpoſal, ſeem d to deſpiſe the vain Efforts of his Enemies; and tho' Revenge was one of his prevailing Paſſions, he affected a Moderation that won on many; and he procur'd, as the *French* Ambaſſador informs us, *Such Deputies to be Choſen in the next Aſſembly, as were his Friends, and well diſpos'd to the* French *King*; which was a great Comfort to that Miniſter, who was apprehenſive of the contrary; and had Deputies been choſen of another Temper, Supplies would not have been

ſo

ſo certain: *And he ſaw clearly* to uſe his own Words, *That the Funds falling ſhort, the Preſent Miniſtry would drop.* The Penſionary and the Ambaſſador acted in Concert, and when the Election of Magiſtrates in the Cities came on, the latter went from Town to Town, to ſupport the Intereſt of the former. *I ſhall do my utmoſt*, ſays he, to bring all our Friends into it; *yet tho things be in a good Diſpoſition, there's a continual Application requiſite, that the Face of Affairs may not change. So great is the Liberty in every City, where every one acts according to his Sentiments, and there's no Puniſhment for thoſe who give ill Impreſſions of the preſent Government.* 'Tis obſervable, that whereever the *French* are concern'd, they are very uneaſie at the Liberty of Free States, which will not admit the tying up of the Tongue, and locking up of the Preſs, as is done where their Tyranny is predominant. 'Twas a great Grief to the Ambaſſador and the *French* Faction, that People could not be Puniſh'd for ſpeaking freely of things on which their own Proſperity, and that of their Poſterity depended. It will always be ſo in ill Governments, none being ſo much averſe to Freedom of Speech, as thoſe to whom it can be of no Service, and of whom every true Word that is ſaid, muſt be a Satyr; which ſhews *D' Eſtrades* could not think it to be any thing leſs than Treaſon or Sedition: For there is hardly an Offence in a Tyrannical Government, which is not Capital.

Capital. Cruelty being as Natural to Tyranny, as Clemency to Liberty.

The *French* Ambaſſador had a great deal to do to keep things in order, as may be perceiv'd by what he ſaid above, and by what follows. *There's need of a continual Negotiation with theſe People, and no certain Meaſure can be taken on their Conſtancy, but much is to be hop'd from Monſieur* De Wit's *Conduct, he having no ſure Support, but that of Your Majeſty, on which he depends, and acts with Vigour.* Nothing was dreaded by the *French* Faction, ſo much as the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Anceſtors were the Terror of Tyrants. The Prince's Party was ſo Strong, that Monſieur *De Wit*, whoſe Cunning was not greater than his Cowardice, as indeed I never knew a *Tricker* to have either Honeſty or Courage, was often diſpirited and aſtoniſh'd, when he had Thoughts of complying with the Wiſhes of all Good Men, and in that Affair, the *French* Ambaſſador frighted, or perſwaded him out of it, as appears by what he writes Monſieur *De Lionne*, the 26th of *February*, 1666. *I have had the good Fortune to recover him, and ſhew him how advantageous it would be for him to be fix'd and ſupported by the King. That he may eaſily ſee to reſtore the Prince to his Offices, would be to ſubmit himſelf to his Enemies, and even fail in Gratitude to his Majeſty.* And indeed it was the main Intereſt of the Penſionary, to prevent the Princes Succeſſion, there being no manner of hopes, that if he ſucceeded to his Fathers Offices

and

and Dignities, either *De Wit*, or any of his Faction, would be favour'd by his Highneſs, whom they had affronted, and done their utmoſt to hinder his ſucceeding to the *Stadtholderate*. 'Twas for this Reaſon chiefly, that the Penſionary eſpous'd the *French* King's Intereſts, his own being ſo cloſely linkt with that Monarchs. I leave the World to judge whether this was an Honeſt Common-Wealths Man, as he endeavour d to have it believ d he was; and the *French* King was as ſollicitous to have Monſieur *De Wit*, and his Party, take him for a Man of Honour, and a Religious Obſerver of his Word. He order'd his Miniſter to aſſure the Penſionary, *He had no Intention to ſurprize*
p. 460. Flanders, *and would reſolve on nothing in that Affair, but in Concert with him, and by joynt Meaſures.* We ſhall ſee anon, how he kept his Promiſe, and what Reaſon the *Hollanders* had to treat *De Wit* almoſt as bad as they did, for truſting to a King, who thinks it for his Glory not to be bound by ſuch mean things as Promiſes and Treaties, as will appear in the Courſe of this Treatiſe.

It would be to deny the Penſionary common Juſtice to queſtion his Capacity: However, thoſe who are well acquainted with his Hiſtory and Character, find a great deal of Craft in the Compoſition, and not a little of a Chimerical Genius, which put him on Deſignsthat were Viſionary and Fruitleſs. His Dear Friend the *French* Ambaſſador, could not help own-

ing

ing this in his Letter to the King, of the 22d of *July*, 1666. *He abounds ſo in his own Underſtanding, that it is impoſſible to gain any thing upon him, whatever Reaſon is alledg'd; and not knowing any thing of War, and being fond of doing every thing himſelf, he too eaſily gives into Propoſals that are made to him, and by this I perceive he loſes his Credit.* So extravagant was he in his Projects, as to fancy a *Dutch* Settlement might be made in *England*, which, ſays *D' Eſtrades*, *was only a Chimera that occaſion'd abundance of things to be ſaid againſt him.* But he had a faſt Friend in the *French* Miniſter, who was deſir'd by him *to manage things as well as he could for their Intereſts*; accordingly he wrote his Maſter, that he ſhould forget nothing which lay in his Power, *to break and quaſh the mighty Faction that had infected the greateſt part of the Magiſtrates.*

Wherever *French* Councils prevail, there follows immediately a Spirit of Perſecution and Cruelty; an Inſtance of which, we have in the Story of an Honeſt *Dutch* Gentleman, the Sieur *Du Buat*, *who for favouring, and promoting the Deſign of making a Separate Peace with* England, which was the only way to ſecure *Holland*, was Arreſted by *De Wit*'s Procurement, and his Papers ſeiz'd. This Gentleman had been a Domeſtick of the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Friends being all turn'd out of his Houſehold, to make room for *De Wit*'s, the Sieur *Du Buat* was diſmiſs'd with the reſt. His Affection to his Maſter, and the True Intereſt of his Country, made him a fit Ob-

ject

ject for the Penſionary's Hatred; and being encourag'd in his Cruel Purpoſe againſt him, by the *French* King himſelf, Poor *Duat* had his Head Chop'd off to pleaſe his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who tells his Ambaſſador, *I am very glad of the Reſolution the States took to arreſt* Du Buat; and he afterwards repreſents, that the Arreſting of him *ſhould be follow'd by the Puniſhment his Treaſon deſerves.* As, continues he, *I promiſe my ſelf it will be from the Juſtice of the States, their Prudence, and the Conſideration of their Honour and Intereſt.* Purſuant to this Advice, the *French* Ambaſſador ſo beſtir'd himſelf, that he wrote the King for his Comfort in Anſwer, *It is thought it will go bad with* Du Buat, *notwithſtanding all the contrary Party are indefatigable in their Endeavours to ſave him.* The Death of this Gentleman, at the Inſtigation of the *French* King, will take off much of the Pity, which otherwiſe would attend the Penſionary's Fate. Such are the Methods of *French* Government, and Governments influenc'd by it. *Lewis* XIV. not being contented with the Innocent Blood he has ſpilt in *France*, but extending his ſanguinary Principles where-ever he has influence. There were ſeveral Magiſtrates and others, of the *Orange* Party, whom the Penſionary proſecuted with the ſame Rigour; and with what an Air of Content does Monſieur *D'Eſtrades* write to Monſieur *de Lionne*, on that Occaſion: *Kivit*, Burgomaſter of *Rotterdam*, *is condemn'd to be Beheaded, and his Eſtate confiſcated, becauſe he's in* England; *Vanderhurſt*, another

another Magiſtrate of that City, *is to be Baniſh'd for ever, and his Eſtate forfeited; and a Phyſician ſeiz'd, will, it is thought, be Hang'd.* No News being ſo entertaining to the Miniſters of *France*, as that which informs 'em of Sacrifices offer'd up in Blood to their Intereſts, in Foreign Parts, and no diſtance of Place makes a Perſon ſecure, that is within the reach of their bloody Negotiations. I cannot but take notice of a very juſt Suſpicion of the *French* King, that his Word wou'd not be taken, and therefore he frankly writes to *D'Eſtrades*, that *If his Promiſe wou'd not paſs with the States, he ſhou'd pawn his own Honour for him*, which was one of the hardeſt pieces of Service he ever put him upon, if the Ambaſſador had any himſelf. Tho' he had ſerv'd him ſo ſucceſsfully as to buy *Dunkirk*, and make him Maſter of a Port which has done the *Engliſh*, that ſold it, more Damage in the late War than all the Ports of *France* beſides.

The Penſionary and *French* Faction, did not carry Matters ſo plauſibly as not to be perceiv d by all thoſe that wiſh'd well to their Country, who ſaw plainly the *French* King's main Deſign was, to involve 'em in a War with *England*, to give him an Opportunity of conquering *Flanders* firſt, and themſelves afterwards, which many did not ſtick to declare publickly; but *De Wit* told the *French* Ambaſſador, *He wou'd eaſily defeat all Artifices by the dint of Reaſon, grounded on the Aſſurance he and the States had of his Majeſty's Sincerity in all his Proceedings,*

and

and it was not many Weeks, before *Lewis* XIV. ſurpriz'd the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, broke the Peace, and took Towns and Provinces; that his Secretary, Monſieur *de Lionne*, wrote then to the Count *D'Eſtrades*, *The King is extreamly pleas'd with the Meaſures you have been taking with Monſieur* De Wit, *to remove the falſe Impreſſions the* Spaniſh *Miniſters have been continually inſtilling into the People's Minds, as well in regard of the Sincerity of his Majeſty's Conduct, which will grow more apparent ev'ry day, in ſpite of all the Artifices of his Enemy's to the contrary, as of his vaſt Deſigns, which is a Chimera.* And in a Letter the King himſelf wrote to the States he upbraids them with the Diſadvantages of a Commonwealth, apt *to conceive Jealouſies and breed Diviſions; The People being as often liable*, ſays he, *to receive falſe Impreſſions as true ones, a Misfortune that never happens in Monarchical States, where all is regulated by the Will of the Prince.* Which ſhews how much better it is to Live under an Abſolute Monarchy, than in a Republick. For in the former, People are not allow'd to have any Impreſſions at all, but thoſe of Obedience to the Prince's Pleaſure, who may uſe them as he thinks fit; and if they admit of any Impreſſion contrary to his Will, they are Cur'd of it by the Gallows or Galleys; whareas in a Republick, People are ſo Sawcy as to make uſe of their Reaſon, which the *French* King ſays is as often wrong as right. But a Monarch is infallible, and indeed how can it be otherwiſe, where Reaſon is not the Rule, and every

thing

thing he Wills is Legal. However there will be found thoſe that will Comment on the Actions of Princes, and bring 'em to the Standard of Truth, which they and their Miniſters call Sedition, and the Writings that have a Tendency thereto, Libels. Several Books were Publiſh'd in *Holland*, againſt the *French* Alliance, which the Penſionary ſuppreſt. Nay, ſo very complaiſant was that Miniſter, that he would not ſuffer any thing to be Printed that reflected on *Perſons of Quality in* France. Something of that kind being done, a Memorial was immediately given in by the *French* Ambaſſador, to have the *Author and Publiſhers brought to Exemplary Puniſhment.* The *French* being ever impatient of the leaſt Liberty of the Preſs; and all that imitate their Politicks, will be ſure to exerciſe their Tyranny in an Exemplary manner on that Freedom, which never was a Friend to Arbitrary Principles, and has been a greater Plague to Tyrannical Governments, than ever Arms were. 'Tis our Happineſs in *England*, to have the Preſs Free, and it will always be ſo in Governments where the Law preſides. There ſuch Freedom can never be prejudicial, for no Body was ever afraid of the Preſs, that could venture their Actions to be try'd by an Impartial Judge.

Of all the Malicious Reports of the *Orange* Party, againſt the Moſt Chriſtian King, nothing ſure cou'd be ſo groundleſs, as what his Miniſter at the *Hague* tells his Secretary in *France*, that moſt *People*

believ'd his Maſter and the King of England *were in a League together*, and that the little he had done for the *Dutch*, *was only a Colour*. *My Anſwer*, *ſays* D'Eſtrades, *was*, that *I knew nothing of it*, *and ſaw no manner of Foundation it had*. A Book came out about the ſame time, pretending to ſet forth the Queen's Right to *Part of the* Netherlands, *during her Brother's Life Time*, which the Ambaſſador being told of, he reply'd, *there was a Neceſſity to acquaint the World with the Juſtice of the Queen's Pretenſions*, becauſe the *Spaniards* had endeavour'd to invalidate the Reaſon of them; that was all. His Maſter intended only to prove his Title by force of Argument, *as the leaſt he could do*, and the States were bound in Gratitude *to approve of it*, and to Fight for him to ſupport ſuch unconteſtable Rights as the Siſter's ſucceeding before the Brother, notwithſtanding Sex and Oaths, Treaties and Renunciations. He adds further, as to any Secret Underſtanding between his Majeſty and the King of *England*, there was no need of making any Anſwer at all, ſince it carry'd *a Self-Contradiction in it*, *and his Majeſty's Sincerity was too well known in the World, to be ſuſpected of any ſuch Colluſion*, Monſieur *De Wit* would not give up himſelf ſo entirely to be Govern'd by this Miniſter, as to ſay it was impoſſible for ſuch a thing to happen, conſidering what a Sincere Monarch they had to do with; but he gave him to underſtand, *he ſhould be the laſt that ſhould hear of it*. One never cares to think ill of ones Friend, but the Moſt Chriſtian King

Vol. III. pag. 70.

King having done nothing againſt his *Britannick* Majeſty worth ſpeaking of in all the War. If the Penſionary had been out of the firſt, it would have agreed better with the Character he has left behind him.

A Treaty of Peace being ſet on Foot, and a Place to be Nam'd for the Congreſs, *Hague* was thought of, but the *French* did not care to have it in a Place, where it was probable the *Engliſh* Miniſters would have Powerful Seconds againſt *France*, if there were any Diſpoſitions in the Court of *England*, to prevent the Loſs of *Flanders*. The *Engliſh* they knew, were hearty for the Preſervation of the *Low Countries*, by a War, and the *French* Miniſters thought it their Intereſt to hinder any Correſpondence between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as much as they could; wherefore *De Lionne*, Secretary of State, endeavour'd to intimidate *De Wit*, that he might not accept of the *Hague* for the Place of Treaty; and does it in a manner which diſcovers the good Opinion he had of our Morals, as well as our Underſtandings. His Expreſ- pag. 86.
ſions to *D'Eſtrades*, are as follow: *His Majeſty is afraid the King of* England *was adviſ'd to propoſe the* Hague, *by one of the very States in the Intereſt of the Prince of* Orange, *and he is Senſible that all is Levell'd at Monſieur* De Wit's *Credit and Authority, which his Majeſty is reſolv'd to maintain; a Man who underſtands the* Engliſh *perfectly well, and knows what they are capable of doing, told me this Morning, that in caſe their Ambaſſadors were admitted to the* Hague, *Monſieur* De Wit's

Perſon would be in Danger. As he is ſeldom upon his Guard, I am of Opinion 'tis a thing not unlikely, for the Engliſh *are ſenſible ſuch an Action would ſhock the State.* He meant no more, nor no leſs, than that my Lord *Hollis*, and Mr. *Coventry*, who were the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, would procure the Penſionary to be Stabb'd; an Action no Party but a *French* one would ever Countenance, and which ſuch Men as my Lord and his Collegue are incapable of. Beſides, as much Miſchief as the Prince of *Orange*'s Friends might think *De Wits* had done, they were Men of too much Honour to take him off ſo baſely; nor was he a Perſon of that Importance, as to have Noble Hands Stain'd with his Blood. But the *French* Faction were always ready to load their Opponents with the very Crimes they only could be Guilty of. The Opinion ſtill prevail'd, *That there was an underhand Agreement between the* French *King, and the King of* England, *and that what was done by the former, was only for Show.* When the Negotiations of Peace began, the Penſionary gave the *French* conſtant Advice of the Proceedings in *England.* For which ſays that Monarch, *I can't ſufficiently expreſs how much Monſieur* De Wit's *Free and Honeſt Behaviour has oblig'd me.* And again, *Fail not of aſſuring Mr.* De Wit, *that I am highly oblig'd to him,* as he doubtleſs was; for before *Lewis* XIV. Invaded the *Netherlands* the Penſionary declar'd it as his Opinion that in Conſideration of the Queen's Pretenſions, which both King and Queen ha

ſo Solemnly renounc'd, *a proper Satisfaction ſhould be given his Majeſty, by yielding up ſome Places in the* Low Countries: And in return for this Friendly Diſpoſition, His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with great Harmony, writes his Ambaſſador, *This I can tell you before-hand, they will always find me ready to come to an Accommodation upon very moderate Terms*; and, *I am not for breaking the Peace, unleſs* Spain *forces me to it.* And when he actually March'd into the *Netherlands*, at the Head of a Numerous Army, He wrote to the Queen of *Spain*, *We have no Deſign on our Part, of infringing the Peace, by our Marching into the* Low Countries, *at the Head of our Army*; which is ſo agreeable to common Senſe and common Modeſty, that nothing can be like it. With the ſame Letter, he ſent the Book that prov'd his Queen's Rights, as evident as Proof could make it, effectually anſwering *the Frivolous Objections contain'd in ſome Libels Publiſh'd by the Governour of* Flanders; ſuch as the King of *Spain*'s being Heir to the *Netherlands*, in a direct Line from *Mary* of *Burgundy*, the *Pyrenean* Treaty, the Renunciation, and the like; which in the Stile of the *French* Court and Miniſtry, muſt be *Libels*, becauſe True; and *Frivolous*, becauſe againſt 'em. The Queen of *Spain* depending on her Son's Right, and the *French* King's Oaths to preſerve the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and the Act of Renunciation, anſwer'd with equal Majeſty and Juſtice, *That She would in no manner, nor upon any Conſideration whatever, enter upon a Diſcuſſion of*

that Affair, nor Treat, or agree upon any thing relating to thoſe Claims, which ſhe knew had no Foundation. This was with *Lewis* XIV. ſufficient Ground to March his Army into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, to take Towns, Countries, and all without any the leaſt *Deſign of infringing the Peace.* So it is, that Abſolute Monarchs argue at the Head of their Armies, not contenting themſelves with Enſlaving Men's Bodies, they enſlave alſo their Minds. This was the *Proof of the Validity of his Demands*; this was his Sincere Proceeding with the Penſionary and the *Dutch*, whom he promis'd not to Invade the *Low Countries*, without Communication and Concert with them. Yet ſuch was *De Wit*'s Fears of the Prince of *Orange*'s, and the *Spaniſh* Party, that even now he was Deaf to all the Offers from *Spain*, for the Preſervation of the *Netherlands*, and ſeem'd rather willing to give the *French* King more than he askt, than force him to be content with leſs. The Memorial of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, as Juſt and Reaſonable as it was, had no Effect, nor would he hearken to any Body but the Count *D Eſtrades*, who had ſo often promis'd him his Maſters Protection. The *Spaniſh* Memorial was ſufficient to have alarm'd him, had he not been ſo entire a Friend to the *French* King, it containing theſe evident Truths. *The King of* France *acting in ſo Violent a manner, makes it evidently appear to the Lords the States, what by our Example they ought to expect, ſeeing that if the Deceas'd King had no Right to Convey*

to

to his Son what belong'd to him in Brabant, *he could much leſs have any to yield to the Lords the States, what they poſſeſs of that Dutchy; becauſe 'tis more neceſſary to alienate them to poſſeſs. If Friendſhip, Relation, a Treaty ſo Solemn as that of* Munſter, *and that of the* Pyrenees, *be Violated, and ſo expreſs a Renunciation as that of the King and Queen of* France *be deny'd, the* States General *may eaſily ſee what they are to expect, as to their own Particular, ſince what they poſſeſs, is not Renounc'd, to which the* French *aſpire to ſet up an Univerſal Monarchy. 'Tis now Time to think of the Common Cauſe, and provide for its Defence.* This Piece contains ſo many Curious Things, that it will not be improper to incert more of it. *This being the* French *King's Aim, he hath procured with a premeditated and private Deſign, a War with* England, *to weaken the* United Provinces, *and after to Tyrannize over both, being both unprovided, and the States weary of the War,* &c. *This makes it evidently appear, that they ſeek Pretexts to lull Aſleep thoſe they will attack after us, in the ſame manner, and with the ſame Injuſtice. Let any one ſay then if ever there were ſeen the like Proceedings, to Violate ſo Solemn a Treaty of Peace, after a Renunciation, wherein was nothing omitted to avoid this Accident, and in which the Moſt Chriſtian King entirely conſented; and the Queens Majeſty his Spouſe, before and after the Marriage; having been not only accepted and comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, but moreover approv'd by the Parliament of* Paris. *Since he has begun to Uſurp Countries by Arms, he ſays, he does not deſign to*

break the Peace, &c. *The Lords the States, can no longer doubt that he, who diſowns the Renunciation, breaks Friendſhip, and Violates a Treaty Sworn, will treat you in the ſame manner as us; and may well conſider what his Deſign muſt be, and that he has a mind to ſwallow us up firſt, and the others after. In ſhort your State may manage this Matter with your uſual Prudence, and if we cannot obtain any thing of our Neighbours, who are concern'd in the Common Cauſe, they can't complain, if we are deſtroy'd, that we have not warn'd them in time to avoid their Ruine.* Yet all this made no Impreſſion on the Penſionary, who fear'd nothing ſo much, as the prevailing of the *Spaniſh* Party, which would certainly be attended with the Reſtauration of the Prince of *Orange*. Thus far the Private Intereſt of one Man, was the Liberty and Safety of the moſt Flouriſhing Republick in the World endanger'd. He was as ſenſible as any Body could be, of the *French* King's double dealing with them, in Invading *Flanders*, as alſo of the Weakneſs of his Pretenſions, as may be ſeen by what he told the *French* Ambaſſador, who writes thus of him to Monſieur *De Lionne*; *He ſays that the Right in Queſtion is New, and not Confirm'd; that out of Diſcretion, the States paſt by in Silence many Reaſons of Complaint; that one of the Principal was, the having begun a War after having both by Word of Mouth and Writing, promis'd that the King would not undertake it, without their Participation; and that his Army March'd into* Flanders *at the ſame time that his Majeſty ſignifi'd his Pretenſions;*

tenſions; *that by the Treaty of the* Pyrenees, *'tis Stipulated that in caſe of any Quarrel, no Party ſhould proceed to Arms before Six Months after the beginning of it*; *during which, Endeavours were to be made to terminate Differences*; *and that they knew nothing of the King's Complaints, any otherwiſe than by his entring* Flanders, *at the Head of* 40000 *Men, and by the taking of* 5 *or* 6 *of the moſt conſiderable Towns of the* Low Countries. However, ſuch was the Penſionary's Power over the Deputies, ſuch his Partiality to *France*, that *D' Eſtrades* writes in the very ſame Letter, *On the Umbrages the States took, as he had reaſon to believe by ſeveral Complaints which they made him in the Conferences, which he had with the Miniſters of the* German *Princes, he could yet aſſure me as a Man of Honour, that there was nothing paſs'd but what was to the advantage of his Majeſty, and tended to unite and act together againſt the* Spaniards, *&c.* For which he had no manner of Reaſon, were it not to preſerve his Adminiſtration of the Government, and ſupport the contrary Party. By this means all the Provinces were oblig'd to follow the Sentiments of that of *Holland*, which is the moſt Powerful and Rich, and that was Govern'd by Monſieur *De Wit*, who manag'd it as he pleas'd. Upon this, the *French* Ambaſſador tells us in one of his Letters, Monſieur *De Wit is full of Ambition, and would above all things, preſerve the Authority he has acquir'd.* And ſpeaking of the Negotiation at *Breda*, he adds, *He fears if it was concluded, He ſhould*

not

not then be wanted ſo much, and would become a Private Man Nay, that he may be oblig'd to give Account of his Actions, and be Try'd for ſeveral Things he had done againſt the Form of the Government. To this end, he pack'd the Aſſemblies perpetually, and not being able to carry the Election of *Wurtz* to Command the Army, inſtead of the Prince of *Orange*, whom the Cities demanded, he got the Aſſembly to break up one Seſſion, that he might concert his Meaſures better againſt the next. *In the mean time*, ſays the *French* Ambaſſador on this Head, *We are aſſur'd the ſaid* De Wit *will meet with great Oppoſition, and that the greateſt part of the Cities demand the Prince of* Orange *for their General, and ſee plainly the Sieur* De Wit's *oppoſing it hitherto, under colour of the Prince*'s *near Relation to the King of* England, *will not paſs*; *the ſaid Prince behaving himſelf extreamly well, and, on all Occaſions, ſhewing the Cities and People, he has no Intereſt but that of the State, and will be govern'd by the Inſtructions of the Tutors the State has appointed him*; *which makes the moſt clear ſighted perceive the Sieur* De Wit *acts out of Paſſion and Intereſt, againſt the ſaid Prince of* Orange. *Spain* might be loſt, and *France* Reign ev'ry where; the Prince muſt not ſucceed, nor the Penſionary loſe his Poſt; which he knew he would do, as ſoon as the Prince's Succeſſion to his Father's Offices was determin'd. Thus a perſonal Pique or private Intereſt of one Republican, was like to have ruin'd his own Country, and with that all *Europe*; yet he is generally cry'd up as an excellent

Stateſ-

Stateſman, and the beſt Friend to *Holland* that ſhe ever was bleſt with, as if he alone had preſerv'd the old Conſtitution; which the Houſe of *Orange*, that eſtabliſh'd it, wou'd have deſtroy'd. Nor was his Hatred to that Houſe confin'd to the Perſon of the Prince, it extended to all who wiſh'd well to his Succeſſion; and we may obſerve what he wou'd have had done with them, by his Inveteracy againſt *Buat*, and the Magiſtrates of *Rotterdam*, who had fled into *England*. When the Peace was negotiating at *Breda*, it had like to have broken off for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's inſiſting on an Amneſty for thoſe Two Gentlemen, whoſe only Crime was their Love to *England* and the Prince. This Amneſty was propos'd for both Nations, but the Penſionary wou'd not hearken to it. *The States*, ſays Monſieur D'Eſtrades, *had rather abandon a Hundred* Engliſh *and* Scots *Officers, who have been in their Service, and ſuffer their Eſtates to be confiſcated, than conſent to the uſual Clauſe of Amneſty, for reſtoring the Eſtates of ſuch as have ſerv'd on both ſides; and that for fear Two of their Subjects, who fled to* England *when* Du Buat *was executed, ſhou'd enjoy the Benefit of it, Monſieur de* Beverning *own'd himſelf, it was a Shame; but at the ſame time ſaid, he was not Maſter. We ſee plainly whence it comes, and that a private Intereſt prevents the Honour and Reputation the States ought to maintain in the Publick.*

Having ſaid ſo much of *Holland*, on the *French* King's firſt Pretenſions to any part of the

the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and of the Fraudulent Ways he took to poſſeſs himſelf of it, I ſhall now hint a little of the Diſpoſition of *England*, not only as it appears in our own Memoirs, but in thoſe of our Enemies, and of a Perſon who having been the *French* Ambaſſador in *England*, before he went to *Holland*, may be ſuppos'd to know as much of King *Charles* II. s Mind, as any one. 'Tis in *D' Eſtrades* Letter to the King of the 21*ſt* of *July*, 1667. after the Invaſion of *Flanders*, and the States Propoſal of a Partion of it in Favour of *France*. *If the King of* England *will take the ſame Reſolution he did when I was Ambaſſador there, not to pretend to any thing in* Flanders, *but to aſſiſt your Majeſty with all his Power to conquer it, provided you wou'd aſſiſt him with* 10000 *Foot, and ſome Horſe, in caſe his Subjects revolt, one need not mind the States.* When the Prince of *Orange* was preparing, after he had deliver'd his own Country from Slavery, to do us the ſame Favour in *England*, the *French* King teaz'd King *James* with Offers of Succours, but his Council, even at that time when almoſt all *England* were prepar'd to embrace the Relief they expected from our Deliverer, wou'd not hear of any *French* Auxiliaries; which King *Charles* was for ſecuring Two or Three Years after the Reſtauration, when the *Engliſh* Loyalty was at the Height, and the King had done nothing to diſoblige his Objects, but the ſelling *Dunkirk*. This very Paſſage proves more to me of the cloſe Correſpondence of the Two Courts, than all the *Secret Hiſtories* that

that have been publiſh'd; and had not a conſiderable part of *D'Eſtrades* Letters been ſunk at the Preſs at *Bruſſels*, it is not to be doubted but we ſhou'd have a more perfect Idæa of the Intrigues between the *French* Factions in *England* and *Holland*, and the Court of *France*. The *Dutch* have a Maxim in their Politicks, never to offend an Enemy farther than by the Events of War, nor to provoke him by Words or Writings, more than is neceſſary to maintain their preſent Diſpute; and this was the Occaſion of gelding and ſinking ſeveral of *D'Eſtrades* Letters which were ſtol'n out of the *French* King's Library, with other Manuſcripts, by a Perſon that pretended to be a Convert. If we had theſe Letters entire, 'tis not to be queſtion'd but ſome of the choiceſt Secrets in the Miniſtries of *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, wou'd have been brought to light. If *Lewis* XIV. cou'd not conquer the Country he had renounc'd, *Charles* II. offers to help him, provided he ſends him Ten or Twelve Thouſand good *Frenchmen*, to aſſiſt his Loyal Subjects. Who they were his Majeſty thought of uſing them againſt, I can't imagine; for at that time all *England* rejoyc'd in their Deliverance from the late Uſurpation and Anarchy. But the Court knew beſt what meaſures they intended to take, and of what Service an Army of *Frenchmen* wou'd be to them. And this Secret Alliance will be demonſtrated paſt all Contradiction in the following Pages. This Inclination of the Court of *England*

pro-

proceeded from the King and his Brother's Education by *Henrietta Maria* of *France*, their Mother, who always inſtill'd into 'em an Affection for that Nation and Government, otherwiſe King *Charles* wou'd never have forgotten the Diſgrace put upon him and his Brother by the *French* King, after his Treaty with *Cromwel*, nor the *French* Court's oppoſing his Reſtauration by their Ambaſſador *Bourdeaux*, whoſe Brigues were ſo well known to the King of *England*, that he wou'd not ſee him, but commanded him away. *D'Eſtrades* had better luck here, and for Five Millions of Livers purchaſed *Dunkirk*, which has been Twenty Millions Sterling to the Damage of *England*, in the late Wars. Many were the Arts they us'd, to raiſe Jealouſies between us and the *Hollanders*, dreading nothing more than a durable and firm Friendſhip between Two Nations, who, if united, might eaſily ſet what Bounds they pleas'd to their Ambition. At laſt they ſided with the *Dutch*, as a good Author obſerves, "Tho' with no other Intention than to "ſee us deſtroy each other, or at leaſt "ſo far weaken and exhauſt our ſelves, "that they might with leſs Oppoſition in- "vade their Neighbours, and increaſe "their Naval Strength: Nay their Policy "went farther, and in the Heat of the War "they ſtill kept Negotiations afoot, and "made Overtures and Propoſals of Peace, "by means of the late Queen-Mother, "whom in the End they deceiv'd ſo far, "as to aſſure her (and by her, his Majeſty,

"that

" that the *Dutch* wou'd ſet no Fleet out " that Summer) the Peace was concluded; " while underhand they preſs'd them with " all the Vigour and Earneſtneſs imagina- " ble, to fit out their Ships, with a Pro- " miſe of joining theirs to them. Upon " this Paroll of the *French* Court, 'tis too " well known, we had no Fleet out, as " well as what follow'd upon it, when the " *Dutch*, meeting with no Oppoſition, " enter'd into the River of *Chatham*, &c." And tho they diſſembled in the Conduct of the War againſt us in *Europe*, and contented themſelves with ſeeing our Ships burnt and our Ports inſulted by the *Hollanders*; in *America* they perſu'd it heartily, and took from us *St. Chriſtophers* and the *Leward Iſlands*; nor did they ſurrender the former, notwithſtanding they had agreed to do it by the Treaty of *Breda*, till we were about joining heartily with them againſt the *Dutch*; and when they did ſurrender it, they deſtroy'd all the Plantations, plun- der'd and carry'd away all that was port- able, leaving it in a much worſe Condition than if it had never been planted. They interrupted the Trade of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, aſſuming to themſelves the Sovereignty of thoſe Seas, not ſuffering any Ships but their own to ſail by or about their Iſlands. Upon no other ground did they take Prizes and confiſcate ſeveral Veſſels. Add to all this the great Duties they laid upon our Merchandize in *France*, which was as bad as a Prohibition; while we continu'd to trade with 'em for ready

Money

Money, to the value of a Million yearly. And what was more miſchievous than all the reſt, were their continual Intrigues to poiſon the Councils of *England*, and draw off the Court from the true Intereſts of the Nation. However, no Court nor Country was in ſuch high Eſteem as the *French*, with the King, his Brother, and all his Party, on what Account we ſhall ſee when we come to treat of the Private Engagements they enter'd into with the *French* King, Two or Three Years after.

There was no greater Miſchief done the Two Nations of *England* and *Holland*, by their Unnatural War, than giving the *French* King an Opportunity to encreaſe his Shipping and Naval Stores, as he did in a ſcandalous manner, in *Holland*, by means of *De Wit*, and in *England*, by means of the Faction there. In *Holland*, the *French* King, in the Years 1666 and 1667, got Twelve ſtout Men of War to be built for him by the Colleges of Admiralty, and bought as many more great Merchant Ships, which he converted to Men of War. Beſides this, there was exported thence to *France*, within the compaſs of Two Years and half 500000 Pound Weight of Match, 400000 Pound Weight of Powder, 200 Casks of Pitch and Tar, 400000 Weight of Iron for Bullets, 6000 Hand-Granadoes, which I find ſpecify'd; Two Galliots were ſold him for his Fleet, and Thirteen Fly-boats; and Five Pinks laden at ſeveral times with Plank, Cordage, Maſts, Nails, Iron, Sails, and all ſorts of Utenſils for

Building

Building. The *French* Faction in *Holland* forgetting themſelves ſo far, as to permit the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* Company, at *Paris*, to furniſh themſelves with Ships, Stores, and all Neceſſaries for their carrying on a Trade in thoſe Parts of the World. Two great Ships of 600 Tons each, Six great Flyboats, One of 150; and Two ſmall Men of War were fitted out in *Holland*, for the Service of thoſe Two Companies; than which nothing cou'd be more oppoſite to the true Policy of *Holland*, to aſſiſt a Nation of ſuch mighty Advantages as the *French*, to ſhare with them in the Commerce of the World, the only Advantage the *Dutch* have. The Faction not only permitted theſe Ships to be thus loaden, for the King and Company's uſe, but ſupply'd them with Pilots, and went ſo far as allow *Lewis* XIV. to erect a Foundery for Ship-Cannon at *Amſterdam*. So highly did the *French* King value his affected Declaration againſt the *Engliſh*, that immediately upon it he demanded full Liberty, notwithſtanding all Prohibitions of the States to buy Ships and Stores; and his Magazines, as well in the Weſt of *France*, as at *Dunkirk*, were furniſh'd almoſt entirely in *Holland*, where he had an Agent, Monſieur *de la Garde Belin*, ſettled for that purpoſe; and other Factors employ'd under him, who bought Ships and Stores, rais'd Seamen, and did what he pleas'd for the Service of the *French* Fleet.

The Partiſans of *France*, in *England*, were as forward to aſſiſt the *French* King

to enlarge his Naval Strength. An Author of Note, who wrote in those Times, tells us, *His Majesty's Magazines were daily employ'd to furnish the* French *with all sorts of Ammunition, of which the following Note contains but a small Parcel, in comparison of what was daily convey'd away under colour of Cockets for* Jersey, *and other Places.*

A Short Account of some Ammunition, &c. Exported from the Port of *London* to *France*, from *June* 1675 to *June* 1677.

History of Peace with France, *and War with* Holland.

GRanadoes, *without Number*, ship'd off at unwrought Iron; 21 *Tons of Lead-shot*, 7134 *Barrels of Gun powder*, 18 *Tons* 600 *Weight of Iron-shot*, 88 *Tons* 1000 *Weight of Match*, 292 *Tons* 900 *Weight of Iron Ordinance*; *Carriages*, *Bandeliers*, &c. *uncertain.*

Appeal from the Private Cabal to the Parliament.

Another Writer on this Subject has the following Reflections: "Wou'd any Man "that judges things according to the Or- "dinary Rules of Prudence have thought "that, in order to secure to our selves "the Sovereignty of the Sea, we shou'd "with so much Industry, endeavour to "force all the *Dutch* Ships, with all their "Naval Power, into the *French* Arms? "We have been often told of brisk Mes- "sengers, sent formerly to the *French* "Kings, as soon as they did but lay the "Carcass of some pitiful Ship upon the "Stocks, but we did never so much as

"dream

" dream that Vice-Admirals, and other
" conſiderable Sea-Officers, ſhould be ſent
" to the *French* Court, to encourage and
" promote the ſetting out of their Fleets;
" that pitying their want of Experience in
" Sea Affairs, we wou'd, out of Compaſ-
" ſionate and Brotherly love, lead the raw
" Seamen by the Hand, train them up in
" our Fleets, and, amongſt the beſt of
" our Seamen, teach them what Skill we
" have learnt in a long and dear bought
" Experience; and to crown all, even
" fight for them, and interpoſe between
" them and Danger, with ſo good ſucceſs
" (as it prov'd) that the *French* Squadron
" (as if the Engagement had been only
" deſign'd for our Entertainment and Di-
" verſion to them) came off as freſh and
" as whole as when they firſt ſail'd out of
" their Ports," *&c.* For, as we have ob-
erv'd already, there were many good *En-*
liſhmen, and good *Dutchmen*, who ſaw what
hoſe that had the Adminiſtration of Affairs
im'd at, the making their own Fortunes,
r pleaſing their Paſſions, at the Ex-
ence of Religion, Liberty, and ev'ry
hing that's held Dear and Sacred by Man-
ind. So well the *French* King's Miniſters
new how to improve to their own Ends,
ny Diſpoſition of thoſe they had to deal
vith, that nothing cou'd happen more a-
reeable to them, than the Duke of *York*'s
nvincible Hatred to the *Dutch*, and *De*
Vit's to the *Engliſh*; both that Prince and
he Penſionary having the greateſt, if not
he only, Influence, in the Management

of the Affairs of the Two Nations; yet both acted with the moſt different Views that ever animated Two Perſons; the one being to enſlave his Country, and the other, to preſerve his free; tho' his Zeal was ill grounded, and he acted on miſtaken Principles, his Pique and Prejudice blinding that Judgment which was of it ſelf the moſt clear ſighted and penetrating of any of his Time. The Story of this Man, is one of the moſt apparent Evidences of the Wretched Condition of Politicians; what a Conſtraint they are oblig'd to put upon themſelves, how to force Nature, and act Parts they abhor, to accompliſh their Deſigns. No body doubts but the Penſionary wou'd have been much better pleas'd, if he cou'd have effected his, by any other Intereſt than that of the *French*; That he was, in the main, as ſtanch a Republican as his Father had been, and wou'd have been as true a Lover of his Country, if it wou'd have anſwer'd his ambitious Views, to which every other Conſideration was to give place. This brings to my Remembrance a good Reaſoning of Sir *William Temple*, on the like Occaſion. He is ſpeaking of ſuch as ſacrifice the Publick to their Pride, Avarice, or Revenge; and it muſt be own'd, that Pique and Reſentment have frequently as great ſhare in the Revolutions that happen in States, as any other Paſſions; *When*, ſays Sir *William*, *Complaints and Diſcontents are ſown among well meaning Men, they are ſure to be cultivated by others that are ill and intereſted, and who cover their*

their own Ends under those of the Publick, and by the Good and Service of the Nation mean nothing but their own. The Practice begins of Knaves upon the Fools, of Artificial and Crafty Men upon the Simple and Good; these easily follow and are caught, while the others lay Trains and pursue a Gain wherein they design no other share than of Zeal to their Country and danger, to their Company, but the Gain and the Quarry wholly to themselves. They blow up Sparks that fall in by chance, or cou'd not be avoided, or else throw them in wherever they find the Stubble is dry: They find out Miscarriages wherever they are, and forge them often where they are not: They quarrel first with the Officers, and then with the Prince or the State; sometimes with the Execution of Laws, and at others with the Institutions how Ancient and Sacred soever. They make Fears pass for Dangers, and Appearances for Truth; represent Misfortunes for Faults, and Mole-hills for Mountains; and by the Perswasions of the Vulgar and Pretences of Patriots, or Lovers of their Country, at the same time they undermine the Credit and Authority of the Government, and set up their own. This raises a Faction between those Subjects that wou'd support it, and those that wou'd ruin it, or rather between those that possess the Honours and Advantages of it, and those that under Pretence of Reforming, design only or chiefly to change the Hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the rest. If Sir *William Temple* had written these Observations on the very Subject that oblig'd me to take Pen in Hand, he cou'd not have adapted them better, they are so like they seem to be

born of it, but much more thoſe that follow: *When this Fire is kindled, both ſides enflame it, all Care of the Publick is laid aſide, and nothing is perſued but the Intereſt of the Factions; all regard of Merit is loſt in Perſons employ'd, and thoſe only choſen that are true to the Party; and all the Tallent requir'd is to be hot, to be heady, to be violent of one ſide or other.* How aptly is this accommodated to the Times that occaſion'd the writing this Treatiſe; one would think that the following Reflections were written on them and no other: *When theſe Storms are rais'd, the Wiſe and the Good are diſgrac'd or laid aſide, or retire of themſelves, and leave the Scene free to ſuch as are moſt eager or moſt active to get upon the Stage, or find moſt Men ready to help them.* The dangerous Conſequences of ſuch Factious Adminiſtrations are ſhewn in what he obſerves further upon it. *From theſe Seeds grow Popular Commotions, and at laſt Seditions, which ſo often end in ſome fatal Periods of the beſt Governments, in ſome ſtrong Convulſions and Revolutions of State, and many times make way for new Inſtitutions and Forms, never intended by thoſe who firſt began or promoted them, and often determine either in ſetting up ſome Tyranny at Home or bringing in ſome Conqueſt from Abroad; for the Animoſities and Hatred of the Factions grow ſo great, that they will ſubmit to any Power the moſt Arbitrary and Foreign, rather than yeild to any oppoſite Party at Home; and are of the Mind of a great Man, in one of our neighbour Countries, who, upon ſuch a Conjuncture ſaid; If he muſt be eaten up, he wou'd rather be ſhou'd be by Wolves than by Rats.* What admirable

mirable Obſervations he made on the Conduct of the Penſioner himſelf, and what an excellent Pre-judgment of his Fate will be mention'd hereafter. I muſt now continue the Secret Hiſtory of that Miniſter, and the ſtrict Engagements I find him in *France*, which were the ſole Reaſon of his Misfortunes.

Peace being made at *Breda* between *England* and *Holland*, and the *French* King having over-run a great part of the *Netherlands*, a Book was publiſh'd, written by the Baron *de Iſola*, then in *England*, in anſwer to one the *French* King had caus'd to be put out to juſtifie his Conduct in that Matter, which was not in the power of Humane Wit to do. The World cou'd not be ſatisfy'd that his Invading *Flanders* with ſo great Forces, and taking the beſt Town there, was not a Breach of the Peace. Neither cou'd they believe the Non-payment of part of the Queen's Portion, render'd the Renunciation invalid. Neither cou'd they imagine the *Pyrenean* Treaty was not infring'd, when 'twas ſtipulated there, that either Side ſhou'd have Six Months time to end Matters of Debate by the Ways of Argument, before either of 'em came to Action; yet he gave no manner of notice of it to the *Dutch* or *Spaniards*, till he had executed what he intended. On the contrary, the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun*, his Ambaſſador in *Spain*, after the *French* Army was already in the Field, and had poſſeſs'd *Charleroy*, Four or Five Days before the News of it came to

Madrid, did, in *verbo Sacerdotis*, and upon all that is moſt Sacred among the *Roman* Catholicks, proteſt and vow to the Queen Regent, that his Maſter intended nothing leſs than what was reported of him, and wou'd never break with the King of *Spain*, or invade his Dominions, as long as he was under Age; but the March of the *French* Army, and the Hoſtilities they committed, agreeing ſo little with their Promiſes, the ſame being complain'd of, they anſwer'd, *It was no Breach of the Peace, and that they only went to take poſſeſſion of what belong'd to them.* This War, or, as the *French* term it, this *friendly way* of poſſeſſing themſelves of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, ended by the Treaty of *Aix*; after which, contrary to the Treaty it ſelf, they diſmantled all the ſtrong Places and Holds of the County of *Burgundy*, and carry'd away all the Ammunition. They alſo exacted great Contributions from the Dutchies of *Lymburgh* and *Luxemburgh*. They laid a new Claim to ſome Towns as important as any of thoſe granted them by the Peace. They confiſcated the Eſtates of the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, and did not ſpare the very Royal Houſe of *Marimont*: Thus they dealt with the *Spaniards*. And we ſhall now take a View of their Dealings with other Nations, which will prove the Correſpondence that muſt have been between the *French* Factions in *England* and *Holland*, and the *French* Court; for ſo many Treaties broken, ſo many Oaths falſify'd, ſo many Acts of Violence, cou'd not but

have

have alarm'd both thoſe States, had not the *Prime* Miniſters been corrupted by the Court of *France*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was by the *Pyrenean* Treaty, to be reſtor'd to his Dutchy, with all the Places and Towns he had poſſeſt in the Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verduns*. But *France*, after the Execution of the other Articles of that Treaty, deferr'd as long as ſhe could, the Performance of that part which related to the Duke, forcing him to make another Treaty, by which ſhe compell'd him to part with ſeveral conſiderable Places, beſides what had been granted to her by the General Peace. Then after an Year and half unſettled Poſſeſſion, during which, under unjuſt Pretences, new Quarrels were every day pickt with him, a *French* Army Invaded his Dominions, and took his beſt Town *Marſal*. All this not ſatisfying the King, he forc'd the Duke to Sign a New Treaty, ſtill more diſadvantageous than the two former. The *French* encroach'd daily upon his Juriſdiction, the Limits of his Territories, and his Soveraignty it ſelf: They impos'd heavy Taxes on his Subjects; they caus'd him to disband his Forces, and to raiſe new Men again as they thought fit. In ſhort, he was all this while more a Vaſſal to *France*, than a Soveraign. *Lewis* XIV. not content even with all this, and reſenting that his Obedience was not as Blind as he would have had it, order'd one of his Generals to ſeize his Perſon, which was very near being effected.

We

We muſt not omit to ſpeak of the Kingdom of *Poland*, which lay Bleeding from the time it had a *French* Queen, and a *French* Cabal, who call'd in the *Turks*, becauſe they could not have a King of *French* Blood, or of *French* Intereſt. In the mean time, the Court of *France* Flatter'd the Duke of *Newburgh* with hopes of that Crown, cauſing him to Mortgage part of his Eſtate, almoſt beyond Redemption, while underhand, contrary to Treaties, as well with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, as with the Duke of *Newburgh*, and to their repeated Promiſes and Vows, *Vivâ Voce*, and by Writing, they did by their Creatures and Agents oppoſe the Duke's Election, and endeavour'd with all Induſtry, to have the Prince of *Conde* choſen.

As to the Emperor, 'tis notoriouſly known, that *Lewis* XIV. held a Correſpondence with the Counts *Serini*, *Frangipani*, *Nadaſti* and *Totenback*, the firſt Malecontents that diſturb'd the Peace of *Hungary*. This Correſpondence was confeſt by ſome Accomplices who had been Inſtrumental in carrying both Money and Letters from the *French* Miniſters at *Vienna*, to the Conſpirators.

Now it was that *Lewis* XIV. made the neareſt Approach to the *Univerſal Monarchy*. *England* and *Holland* he was ſure of, by *De Wit* and *Arlington*'s Factions. *Spain* by its own Weakneſs. *Poland* was promis'd him, in the Election of a *French* Prince. The Empire he had embroil'd by private Intreagues and Treaties with ſeveral

veral Princes, contrary to the Peace of *Munſter*; yet neither the *Engliſh* nor *Dutch* Miniſters, would open their Eyes to ſee the Danger that threaten'd 'em. Blinded as they were by *French* Gold, and out of Hatred to thoſe that oppos'd them at Home.

We have ſeen what an Enemy the Treaſurer *Clifford* in *England* was to the *Dutch*, and it was not doubted but the Chancellor *Hyde* hated them as mortally, tho' he had the Cunning to conceal it better, that Averſion being not very Popular. *Monk* having met with ſome ill Treatment when he was only a Subaltern in the *Netherlands*, remember'd it now he was General, and being a Man of no great Depth, could not diſſemble his Sentiments, which were always warm againſt the *Hollanders*. The *Spaniſh* Party in *England*, were thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Liberty of *Europe*, and to the Proteſtant Religion, which they knew would be utterly deſtroy'd, whenever *France* was Maſter of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and had no Power to Ballance its own. The People were generally againſt the *Dutch* War at laſt, however they had been at firſt impos'd upon to approve of it, and thoſe that had moſt Intereſt in them, were for Leaguing with *Spain*, for the Preſervation of *Flanders*. The Count *D' Eſtrades* informs us, that it was by the Intrigues of the Count *De Molina*, and the Baron *Iſola*, that Chancellor *Hyde* was diſgrac'd, but we can hardly think any thing Good was intended by it, when the

Chief

Chief Promoter of it was Mr. *Edward Seymour*, whoſe whole Life cannot produce one Action, that tended to the good of the Common-Wealth. Among all the Charges that were brought againſt the Chancellor, none ſeem'd to affect him more, than that the 16th Article againſt him was, *That he had deluded and betrayed his Majeſty and the Nation, in all Foreign Treaties and Negotiations, relating to the late War; and betray'd and diſcover'd his Majeſty's ſecret Councils to his Enemies.* To which he thus anſwer'd; *In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which it is notoriouſly known, that I was always moſt averſe*, &c. And again, *As I did from my Soul abhor the Entring into this War, ſo I preſum'd never to give any Advice or Counſel for the way of managing it, but by oppoſing many Propoſitions which ſeem'd to the late Lord Treaſurer and my ſelf to be unreaſonable.* Whether the Reader will rather believe his Lordſhip in his Adverſity, than in his Proſperity, is left to him, and to determine whoſe Credit is beſt, that of a Repenting Miniſter, or one in high Favour, both in the *French* Court, and the Court of *England*; yet not ſo conſider'd in that of *France*, as Monſieur *De Wit*, whoſe own Intereſt was more Ally'd to the *French* Kings. However the *Dutch* were ſo terrifi'd at the *French* Conqueſts in the *Netherlands*, that *De Wit* was forc'd to agree to a haſty Treaty with *England* to that End, into which *Sweden* enter'd, and thence was Form'd

* The Earl of Southampton.

Form'd the Famous *Triple League*, which would betimes have put a Stop to the growing Greatneſs of *France*, had *England* and *Sweden* been in earneſt. The *French* Ambaſſador in *Holland*, ſoon perceiv'd the Engagements the *Dutch* were about entring into with the *Engliſh*; but yet I cannot think he was very apprehenſive of the Conſequences of it. The *French* King knowing that whatever Publick Alliances might be made in Complaiſance to the Clamours of both Nations, the Miniſtry was his own, and he could receive no harm by it. The League being all Grimace, in thoſe who were to execute it. For tho' *De Wit* told the Count D'Eſtrades, *the States are of Neceſſity to endeavour for ſuch Securities and Alliances, as may ſhelter them from his Majeſty's Great Power.* Yet his own Diſpoſition was not chang'd, for in the very next Letter of that Miniſter, he writes the King. *The Minds of the Members of this Aſſembly, are ſo prepoſſeſt againſt us, that we, that is Monſieur* De Wit *and I, thought fit to ſeparate them on ſome Pretexts, for ſome Days, which is done; and in the Interim we may labour to efface the Impreſſion which the* Spaniards *have made on the Cities, that your Majeſty aims Abſolutely at the Conqueſt of the* Low Countries, *and after that, to fall on the* United Provinces. What greater Influence could *French* Counſels have, than to Aſſemble and ſeparate the States General, as it ſerv'd their Turn; and to ſhew how little the League the *Dutch* might make againſt them, affected

'em

'em in *France*, one need only read what the *French* Secretary of State wrote their Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, upon the *States* declaring, they thought the Kings Terms of an Accommodation with *Spain* too hard. *I cannot conclude, without telling you, betwixt you and I, for your Private Satisfaction, that if after the King has put into the Hands of the States, the Certainty of Peace, on the Conditions which Monſieur* De Wit *himſelf propos'd, provided that they would but exert themſelves as they ought to the* Spaniards; *the ſaid States, inſtead of that, take up the Cards, and make Alliances contrary to the Intereſt of his Majeſty, we ſhall not be ſo much diſturb'd at it here, as they may think. I know what I ſay, and on what Foundation I ſay it. Thoſe who who would do us a Miſchief, will do more to themſelves, and perhaps better advance the Advantage of his Majeſty; wherefore live merrily whatever you ſee happen.* Be under no kind of Concern about the Tripple League; he knows what he ſays, and on what Foundation. This can be nothing, but that *England* was not in earneſt and that *Holland* would be Govern'd by *De Wit*, who durſt not ſide with the *Spaniards*, for fear of the Party of *Orange*. For had the Miniſtry of *England* and *Holland*, been as Hearty in that Alliance, as in that which has lately driven the *French* into *Picardy*, the Work had not been left to our Age. Not many Weeks after, *D' Eſtrades* writes to Monſieur *De Lionne*; Monſieur *De Wit diſcerning that the King remains firm to his Propoſal, does his beſt to bring the Cities as near*

as

as poſſible, to the King's Sentiments; and that his own good Inclinations to *France*, might not be doubted, *he aſſur'd me*, ſays the Ambaſſador, *That if it had been in his Power, to have brought Affairs to the Point, which the King deſir'd in his laſt Propoſal, he had done it.* And the Secretary returns the Penſionary's Complacency in his Letter of the 16th of *December*, 1667. *The King will never with Pleaſure, ſee any Perſon declare againſt Monſieur* De Wit, *but when it happens to be the* Spaniards, *I muſt not conceal from you that his Majeſty very much rejoyces at it, as well becauſe that will amount to a certain Proof that the Sieur* De Wit *acts Sincerely for the Intereſt of this Crown, as becauſe he is very well aſſur'd that they will not much hurt him, and that he ſhall yet have an Opprtunity of giving him Proofs of his Friendſhip and Protection, if he ſhould think he ſtood in need of it.* And the Penſionary and Ambaſſador manag'd their Matters ſo well, as to get the States of *Holland* to declare their Opinion, *to remain United to* France, *and make uſe of all forcible ways to oblige the* Spaniards *to comply.*

It was one of the *French* Methods towards carrying on their Deſigns, whereever they had Friends to procure as much as in them lay, the Ruin of thoſe that ſaw what they aim'd at, and endeavour d to prevent the Slavery with which they threaten'd *Europe*. Count *Waldeck* was a Hearty Enemy of theirs, and went from Court to Court to ſollicite Succours for the *Dutch*, when the Biſhop of *Munſter* was at

at War with them, and afterwards when they were increaſing their Forces, effectually to execute the Tripple Alliance: Therefore the Ambaſſador writes the Secretary, *No Time is to be loſt in endeavouring to Ruin Count* Waldeck, *for he takes Meaſures againſt us on all ſides.*

As zealous as the Penſionary was for the Service of *Lewis* XIV. the Violent Proceedings of that Monarch, put it out of his Power to hinder the Alliance of *England* and *Holland* againſt them. For the very next Year after he had made his firſt Irruption into *Flanders*, without giving the *Dutch* Notice of it, he wrote to the States the 22d of *January*, *That he intended to ſet out Nine Days after, to go into the* Franche Comte, *at the Head of a Body of Forces, to endeavour to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome Poſt.* Accordingly, he invaded and ſeiz'd that Province, which frighted the *Dutch* into the Tripple Alliance. Notwithſtanding that League, the Penſionary continu'd ſtill his Animoſity againſt the *Engliſh*, and made King *Charles*'s perſiſting in his Demand of the Flag, a Pretence to keep the *Hollanders* from that Confidence in him, which was neceſſary to give Life to the New Alliance. There's a Paſſage in a Letter of *D' Eſtrades*, that preſents us with a lively Idea of his prevaricating with us in it. *I intreat you, Sir, to let me know as ſoon as poſſible, the King's Sentiments on this Affair, for if his Majeſty thinks, a Stricter Union with the Sates would be neceſſary to his Service: We ought not to loſe this Conjuncture,*

which

which is favourable to procure the Turn of all the Cities and Provinces which are inclin'd for England. *I dare alſo venture to tell you, Sir, that if Monſieur* De Wit *does not find himſelf ſuſtain'd by the King, he will take other Meaſures, and perhaps may be forc'd to acquieſce with the Sentiments of the* Engliſh *Party, which will not be, but at the laſt Extremity; being very ill ſatisfy'd with, and having but little Eſteem for the* Engliſh *Court, a great Contempt of that of* Spain, *and of their Miniſters; and laying no Streſs on the Reſolutions of the* Swedes, *which he found very much Self-Intereſted; and on the contrary, a high Value for the Perſon of the King, his Valour, his great Mind, and his Conduct; to that degree, that he ſaid boldly in the Aſſembly he muſt own the firſt and moſt Solid Council there was in* Chriſtendom, *was that of the King, of which he is the Chief.* This high Opinion had *De Wit* of the *French* King, three Months after the Tripple League was Sign'd; and he had made ſuch fair Profeſſions of his Zeal for the Common Cauſe, in oppoſition to that Monarch's Ambitious Projects; but this real Diſpoſition, may be better ſeen in a Letter written by *D' Eſtrades*, a few Days afterwards. *I am certain that Monſieur* De Wit *for his own Intereſt, will do all in his Power to fix this State in the Intereſt of* France, *but 'tis not in his Power to break and diſſipate the Cabals of* England, *and the Houſe of* Orange, *as long as the apparent Pretexts which touch to the Quick ſubſiſt.* As long as the *French* King continues Poſſeſſing himſelf of the *Spaniſh* Provinces, ſo long the *Dutch*

would believe no other than that he had broken the Peace, and aſpir'd to the Univerſal Empire; which Belief of theirs, tho' ſo well grounded, the Penſionary would have deſtroy'd if he could, and made the People depend on the *French* King's Protection, the only Support of himſelf and his Party. It is obſervable, how that Monarch has all along Courted the *Tricking* Politicians in *Europe*, himſelf being the greateſt *Trcikſter* of 'em all. A ſure Sign of the Injuſtice of his Views. For good Policy always goes with what's Right and Honeſt. The Crafty, Cloſe, Myſterious Stateſman, purſues his dark Methods, only becauſe he dares not bring them to the Light; and his Works, like his Counſels, are thoſe of Darkneſs. 'Twas by the Penſionary's means, that the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*, were refus'd to enter into the Tripple Alliance; and he always told the *French* Ambaſſador, that the League was not againſt his Majeſtys Intereſts; adding, *The Event would prove what he ſaid.* A greater Proof needed not be given, than that immediately upon the Concluſion of that very Treaty, he preſt the *French* Court to enter into a Treaty againſt *England*, about the *Flag*; ſaying, *He did not believe it poſſible to convince all* Chriſtendom *of the ſtrict Union of* France *with the States, but by a Treaty of this Nature.* He was beſides, for inſerting an *Article in ſuch a Treaty, that in caſe of the Death of the King of* Spain, *the King and the States ſhould take Arms, to force the* Spaniards

ards *out of the* Netherlands, *and that the King ſhould be free to carry his Arms every where, in the Kingdoms and Countries of the King of* Spain, *to Conquer them.* Let any one judge what a Lover this was of the Liberty of *Europe*, without which, that of the *United Provinces* could not ſubſiſt. What a Man of Honour, who having but three Months before Concluded a Treaty for the Defence of *Spain*, was now for entring into another, to give it up to *France*; and deluding his Maſters the States, by fair Repreſentations of the *French* King's Intentions, that they might not have any Apprehenſion of his Conqueſts, with which they were very juſtly perplex'd. He goes on thus, *We ſhall overthrow all the Deſigns of the* Spaniards, *which tend only to engage the States to make ſome falſe Step, by the Fears which they ſuggeſt to them of the Conqueſt of* Flanders, *on which we cannot ſecure our ſelves here, nor avoid that, this Caſe happening, the States entring into all poſſible Alliances with the* Engliſh, *and the Princes their Neighbours to oppoſe it*, he then entreated the Ambaſſador to believe, *That his Intention was good, and that he deſir'd nothing ſo much, as to ſee* France *and* Holland *ſo firmly Leagu'd together, that the Cabals of* Spain *and* England, *and thoſe of the* Netherlands, *ſhould never ſhock them.* Thus was this Famous Patriot for Fortifying himſelf on the ſide of *France*, at the Peril of every thing, Religion, Liberty, Trade, and all that Men hold dear. The *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Cabals, who hated his own, for their *Attachment* to the *French*,

muſt by no means prevail, whatever was the Conſequence. There was likely to have any good Effect of the Tripple League, when the Man that made it, reſolv'd it ſhould be no Damage to *Lewis* XIV. againſt whom it was made. And as much as he pretended to be for his own Republick, we may perceive he was ſtrongly againſt Anti-monarchial Principles by what Sir *William Temple* writes of his telling him, *That for his part, if he had been Born under a King, he could never have conſented to what his Anceſtors did, toward the King of* Spain.

He was not only a faſt Friend of *France* himſelf, but did his utmoſt to impoſe his Notions on others, and to gain them over to that Intereſt. To this end, he endeavoured to ſtifle all good Inclinations in any of his Fellow-Miniſters, as ſoon as born, and keep them ſteady in their Averſion to a *Spaniſh* League. The two Men of the State, who gave him moſt Trouble, were Monſ. *De Beverning*, and Monſ. *Van Beuningen* before mentiond; the former threw up his Treaſurer's Office, in the War with *England*, out of Diſguſt to the Penſionary's Meaſures: The latter was not ſo ſoon convinc'd of the Neceſſity of diſengaging themſelves from *France*, but having in *France* obſerv'd the Paces of that Court to poſſeſs the *Spaniſh* Dominions, he heartily imbrac'd the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, and fell in with the *Orange* Party to advance it. He gave early Intimations of the *French* King's Deſigns, and Sound Advice how to pre-

ven-

vent them: Sometimes in ſo ſtrong Terms, that it gave great Offence to *De Wit*, and *D' Eſtrades*; the latter gives this Account of that Matter, to Mr. *De Lionne*, ſpeaking of the Penſionary, *He then told me in Confidence, that he found Monſieur* Van Beverning *too warm by his Diſpatches, and inſinuating Thoughts into the Cities of* Holland, *that the King of* Spain *coming to dye, it might be expected that the King will re-aſſume his Project of Conquering the* Netherlands; *that he had written to him to write more moderately; that he ought not to ſtir up any thing that might diſturb the Minds of the People; that he very well ſaw Monſieur* Van Beuningen *had not all the Complaiſance which he had wiſh'd for the King's Miniſters; that he will cauſe him to return, and having him with him, would ſo manage him, that he would rid him of all the Viſions which he has, from the great Apprehenſions of the King's Power, and Deſign of rendring himſelf Univerſal Monarch.* Which is all that can be gather'd out of *D Eſtrades*'s Letters, for this is the laſt; and it is a great Loſs to the Publick, that ſo many of 'em are ſunk and gelt. There remains ſufficient to prove, that this Great Miniſter *De Wit*, with all his Capacity, with all his Zeal for the Common-Wealth, was either bubbled by the *French* Court to a very Shameful Degree, or expos'd his Country to Slavery, out of Hatred to the Oppoſite Party. For every Body ſaw as well as Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, that *Lewis* XIV. aim'd to make himſelf not only Maſter of the *Netherlands*, but of all *Europe*. To

accompliſh this, there was no ſort of Perfidy, nor even Perjury the *French* were not Guilty of; they Betray'd their Friends, cajol'd their Enemies, Inſulted the Weak, Amus'd the Strong; and having had a long Miniſtry of great Abilities, and at laſt a Monarch, who, with a vaſt Genius for Rule, had a Conſcience as unbounded as his Ambition; they ſucceeded to the Amazement of all *Europe*, in the purſuit of the Univerſal Empire. How they us'd the *Dutch*, for their extraordinary regard to them, may be ſeen in the Famous Revolution, which happen'd to that Republick, in the Year 1672. Nor were they kinder to their real Friends, the *Poles* and *Swedes*. The former had endeavour'd to promote a *French* Prince to their Throne, but the *German* Intereſt was too hard for the *French*; and *Lewis* XIV. having hopes of engaging the Emperor not to aſſiſt the *Dutch*, when he ſhould attack them, order'd his Miniſters at *Vienna*, to offer thoſe of the Emperor, to put into their Hands all the Original Letters they had from their Creatures and Friends in *Poland*, to the end that his Imperial Majeſty, and the King of *Poland* his Brother, might take what Courſe they thought fit with ſuch Rebels; which is a fair Warning to others, how they enter into any unlawful Commerce, with a Court that is ſo little ſenſible of the Ties of Gratitude and Honour, and will be ſure to expoſe them, whenever they find it for their Advantage.

The *Swedes* have more than half a Century been very fond of *French* Alliances, whether out of Affection to their Form of Government, which they have happily embrac'd, or for Aſſiſtance againſt the *Germans* and *Danes*, which the *French* are moſt likely to afford them, or for what other Conſiderations, I ſhall not affirm, only by mentioning a Piece of Hiſtory that happen'd before our firſt *Dutch* War, in which the *Swedes* were far from wiſhing well to the *Dutch*. The *French* had by Treaty oblig'd themſelves to give the *Swedes* 1600000 Crowns, but finding that Treaty did not turn to Account, as was expected, they refus'd to perform it; and Monſieur *Terlon* their Miniſter at *Stockholm*, when he was put upon it, anſwer'd in few Words, that the *King his Maſter declar'd that Treaty to be void*, which was a New Way of ſpeaking to Princes, till his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty brought it into uſe, and made it the familiar Court Stile of *France*.

How much King *Charles* II. was oblig'd to him, we have in part ſeen already, and ſhall hereafter ſee further; yet ſuch was the Terror of his Arms, the Influence of his Gold, and the Prevalence of his Councils, that there ſeem'd to be a General Infatuation in thoſe of all *Europe*. Thoſe that cou'd have betimes given a Check to his Exorbitant Power, were ſo Mad as to contribute to the increaſe of it; and the Famous *Tripple League*, which was concluded for no other End, ſerv'd only

to Arm *France* againſt the *Dutch*, who had eſpous'd it; and *England* and *Sweden*, who had joyn'd in it, were ſo far from aſſiſting them that they United their Forces with the *French*, to deſtroy that Republick, whoſe Preſervation had been the firſt Motive of the Alliance.

'Tis much to be queſtion'd, whether Monſieur *De Wit* was more hearty in it than my Lord *Arlington*; for tho the Count *D' Eſtrades* was recall'd, yet he return'd the Year after, 1669. and to amuſe that Miniſter, renew'd the League of *Partition*, to devide and Cantonize the *Netherlands*. The next Year, 1670, he came to *Holland* again, but the Subject of his Negotiations were intirely Secret, he having no Publick Character. The time of his coming, juſt upon the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*'s Return from *Dover*, might be to give the Penſionary his Old Friend, ſuch a Repreſentation of that Matter, as ſhou'd continue his good Opinion of the Court of *France*, which was not eaſily to be done, all *Europe* beginning to talk of Engagements between *England* and *France*, notwithſtanding the Tripple League was then ſo Young, and the Shame that muſt attend the breaking of it, as well as the Folly and Raſhneſs. What it was that induc'd Monſieur *De Wit* to enter into that Treaty, may not be very difficult to gueſs. The Progreſs of the *French* in the *Netherlands*, the Clamours of the *Dutch*, and the increaſing of the Party of *Orange*, who wou'd have had great Occaſion of Complaints,

had

had *France* been ſuffer'd to come into the Neighbourhood of *Holland*, and the Miniſtry had not taken one Step to prevent it. But it is likely the Penſionary took as much Care to ſatisfy the *French* Court that it ſhou'd come to nothing, and as the *French* Ambaſſador ſaid, *Toute cela s'en ira en fumeè & que le Roy ſon maitre s'en mocqueroit. It will all vaniſh in Smoak, and the King his Maſter wou'd but laugh at it.* Which he might well conclude, from the Knowledge he had of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters. The Count *De Dhona*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, as ſoon as he heard of the Propoſal of ſuch a Treaty, reply'd: *He doubted Monſieur* De Wit's *Reſolution to break upon any Terms with* France, *conſidering the Intereſts of the Houſe of* Orange, *which he muſt ever believe wou'd, at one time or other, be advanc'd by* England, *whereas he was ſure to be ſupported againſt them by* France. After it was concluded, as alſo the Peace of *Aix*, the Penſionary continu'd his Friendſhip with the *French* Court, and either wou'd not, or did not ſee how that of *England* dealt doubly with him, as well as that of *France*; and both were preparing to chaſtize his Republick, for the *Inſolence* of pretending to a greater Concern for the Liberty of *Europe* than they allow'd them.

When the *Tripple* Alliance was accompliſh'd, all honeſt *Engliſhmen* and *Dutchmen* rejoyc'd at it, as the beſt Event which had fal'n out for the Safety and Welfare of the Two Nations ſince the *Reſtauration*, but the *French* Factions treated it as a rediculous

lous Buſineſs, and Sir *Thomas Clifford* ſaid to a Gentleman in great Confidence: *Well, for all this Noiſe, we muſt yet have another War with the* Dutch *before it be long.* He was a Papiſt, and conſequently better qualify'd to Prophecy of that matter than Sir *William Temple*, or any Man of his Principles. 'Tis true, the King of *England* took the Quarrel of the *Guinea* and *Surinam* Merchants upon him, to begin a Shyneſs to the *Dutch* after that League; but it will always be found, that where the Heart is the Hand will ſoon follow. His Majeſty had as much Reaſon to complain of the *French*, for the Wrongs done at St. *Chriſtophers*, and other Places in the *Weſt-Indies*, to his Subjects. Thoſe were forgotten, whereas ev'ry old and new Occaſion of Complaint againſt the *Hollanders* was receiv'd with great Earneſtneſs, and preſs'd rather as a ground of Quarrel, than a matter of Redreſs. Upon this quick Alteration in the Councils of *England* De Wit ſaid, *Qu il faut avouer qu il ya eu pour neuf mois du plus grand Miniſtere du Monde en Angleterre, That it muſt be confeſt there has been for Nine Months the greateſt Miniſtry in the World in* England; *as if*, ſays a great Author, *they believ'd ſome Change had befal'n our Councils before the laſt Year ended.* Of ſo ſhort Duration was all our good Diſpoſitions, and it was not likely it ſhou'd be otherwiſe, when the *Prime* Miniſter was a ſuſpected Papiſt. But the trueſt Repreſentation of that Matter is what Monſieur *Puffendorff*, the *Swediſh* Agent at *Paris*, told Monſieur *De Wit*: "That the "Mini-

" Miniſters in *France* had taken much " Pains to perſwade him that *Sweden* wou'd " find their Account very ill in purſuing " thoſe Meaſures. That *Spain* wou'd fail " them, and that *Holland* alone would not " be able to ſupport them, or the Mea- " ſures they had raſhly taken. That " *England* would certainly fail them, and " was already chang'd in the Courſe of all " thoſe Councils they had taken with " *Holland* and *Sweden*, tho' they did not " think fit to let any thing of it appear, " and the Secret was yet in very few " Hands, either in the *French* or *Engliſh* " Court. *Puffendorf* ſeeming incredulous and to think the Story artificial, to draw the *Swedes* out of the *Tripple* League, Monſieur *Turenne* at laſt ſhew'd him a Letter from Monſieur *Colbert*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, wherein he gave an Account of the happy Succeſſes he had met with in his Negotiations at the Court of *England*, of the good Diſpoſitions there, and eſpecially thoſe of ſome of the chief Miniſters. Upon which he added theſe Words: *Et je leur ay enfin fait ſentir toute l'Etendue dela Liberatitè de ſa Majeſtè. And I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the whole Extent of his Majeſty's Liberality.* The Myſtery of the Negotiations of Monſieur *Colbert* in *England*, was a long time a Secret to all the reſt of *Europe*, except the Privadoes of the Court of *England* and *France*; but it is now no longer ſo, and that thro' the little Deference which the *French* Court has always paid that of *England*, valuing very little their Treatment of

'em

'em, the Publiſhing their Secrets, and expoſing their Conduct, as was done by the Abbot *Primi*, employ'd by Monſieur *Colbert* himſelf, who allow'd him a Penſion for collecting his Memoirs, putting them together, and making 'em publick: His Book was Printed both in *Italian* and *French*, the former under the Name of the Count St. *Maiolo*; but both *French* and *Italian* was Licens'd and had the Royal Privilege. It was publiſh'd at *Paris* in the Year 1682. At which time the Lord *Preſton* was Envoy from King *Charles* II. who put in a Memorial againſt it, and 'twas immediately ſuppreſs'd, all the Copies, except Three or Four, being ſeiz'd, and the *Abbot* ſent to the *Baſtile*, where he remain'd about Ten Days, and then Appearances being ſav'd he was enlarg'd. The whole Work conſiſted of Ten Books, but there are but Two of them in publick. The reſt wou'd have made Diſcoveries of infinite ſervice to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and we ſhou'd have had a compleat View of the Integrity and Felicity of a Tory Miniſtry, for ſuch that certainly muſt be that had *Arlington* and *Clifford* at the Head of it. I ſhall not pretend to enter into the *Detail* of all the Matter in this Hiſtory. Thoſe that relate to *England*, and are not known to many, ſhall ſuffice for this Treatiſe.

The *Tripple League*, and the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* being concluded, the *French* King ſet himſelf to devide *England* from *Holland*, that he might eaſily conquer the Seventeen Provinces, which wou'd make the *Univerſal Monarchy* the Work of a few

Cam-

Campaigns only. Had not the Court of *England* been extreamly well diſpos'd to an Union with *France*, no ſuch Step durſt have been ventur d by the *French* Miniſters within a Year after the Concluſion of ſo famous a League as the Tripple one, ſo generally acceptable to the People of *England* and *Holland*; but the *French* Court had ſo many Friends in that of *England*, and even at the Head of our Councils, that they were not diſcourag'd by ſo formidable an Alliance, from attempting to engage King *Charles* in one with *France*, contrary to all the Treaties both Kings had made the laſt Two Years at *Breda*, the *Hague*, *Aix*, and *Spain*.

There were ſome Merchants in *England* that pretended Satisfaction for Two or Three *Eaſt-India* Ships taken before the Peace of *Breda*; ſome *Engliſhmen* had been kept at *Surinam* with, or without their Conſent, and the *French* Faction were perpetually teazing the Penſionary of *Holland* for Satisfaction, as has been hinted already, and he having no great Opinion of the Honeſty or Ability of our Miniſters, nor Kindneſs to our Nation; which he look d upon as Rivals to his own in Commerce, and ſuch Rivals as wou'd never be contented without an entire Maſtery; and what was worſe, as a People inſeparable from the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Orange*, was not very forward to comply with theſe Vexatious Demands of the *Engliſh* Miniſters. Upon which a certain Author who liv'd in thoſe Times writes thus: *The Penſionary* De Wit *who govern'd* Holland *at that time with a more than Miniſterial Authority*,

thority, took a Pride in ſtanding on Punctilio's in all things relating to England, *which makes the Commonwealth it ſelf to be leſs guilty of any Diſreſpect ſhew'd either to his Majeſty or the Nation, through the Haughtineſs and private Animoſity of their Miniſter. And truly I muſt needs ſay, that of all the things that are laid to the ſaid* De Wit's *Charge, there is hardly any which wou'd make me more apt to believe there was a private Underſtanding between the* French *and him, than his carriage in this Buſineſs, and his demurring ſo long upon the Satisfaction which the greateſt part of the States were ſo willing to give* England, *while he knew full well that it was a Quarrel ſought by our Miniſters, who wanted ſome popular Pretence to make War, and keep their Word with the* French *King.* At the ſame time that our Miniſters in *Holland* were order'd to require Satisfaction for our *Eaſt-India* and *Weſt-India* Merchants, thoſe in *England* made a great Noiſe of *Infamous Libels, Horrid Pictures, Pillars* ſet up and *Medals* coin'd. As to the Medals, true it is, one was coin'd which ſhews Monſieur *De Wit*'s Arrogance, who aſſuming to himſelf the Honour of the Peace of *Aix la Chappelle*, got a Medal ſtruck, wherein it was aſcrib'd to the States, who leaving ev'ry thing to him, it follow'd of courſe, that the greateſt ſhare of the Glory wou'd redound to him; the Medal on one ſide repreſented *Holland* reſting her ſelf on a Trophy, and on the other ſide were theſe Words, *That ſhe had re-eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd the Laws, reform'd and chang'd Religion, aſſiſted, protected, and reconcil'd Kings, reſtor'd*

ſtor'd Liberty to the Sea, made a glorious Peace by force of Arms, and ſettled the Repoſe of all Europe. With the Preſumption of which the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors were often upbraided, particularly Monſieur *Groot* at *Paris*; and tho' the Dye was broken two Years after, the Two King's of *England* and *France*, did not give over complaining of the Inſolence of it; which the *French* Ambaſſador highly aggravated as an Affront not to be born by *Crown'd* Heads, and the Court of *England*, who a Year or two before, cou'd tamely bear an Inſult the *Engliſh* Nation had never met with, the putting their Capital into a terrible Conſternation, are now ſo jealous of their Honour, that it muſt not be eclips'd by a *Dutch* Medal. Monſieur *Colbert* aggravated the Contempt ſhewn King *Charles*'s Mediation, and ſet forth to that Prince, *How the time was now come to be reveng'd upon a Nation that had ſo little Reſpect for Kings*; *and he cou'd never meet with a more favourable Opportunity, ſince ſeveral* German *Princes had already enter'd into the Confederacy*; *and his Maſter was ſtrong and powerful enough to be able to aſſure his Allies that all due Satisfaction ſhould be made to their Glory and Intereſt in the Sequel of this War*. Theſe are the Abbots Words. He goes on: *Upon this Repreſentation that Prince ſign'd a Private Treaty with* France; *and to give him further Aſſurances upon the Matter*, Henrietta *of* England, *Dutcheſs of* Orleans, *a Princeſs whoſe Wit and Capacity were equal to her Beauty, Siſter to the King of* England, *and Siſter-in-law to the King*

of

of France, *croſs'd over to* England *in* 1670, *and in the Name of the moſt Chriſtian King made a Propoſal to her Royal Brother, of inſuring to him an abſolute Authority over his Parliament, and re-eſtabliſhing the Catholick Religion in the Three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *but with the ſame Breath ſhe gave him to know that in order to compaſs this End, there was a Neceſſity above all things, of lowering the Pride and Power of the* Dutch, *who made it their whole Study to ſow and foment Diviſions among their Neighbours, and of reducing that State to the narrow Compaſs of the Province of* Holland, *of which the Prince of* Orange *ſhou'd be Sovereign, or at leaſt Perpetual Stadtholder. The Execution of which Project would be eaſily accompliſh'd by Two Powerful Princes ſtrictly ally'd That by this Scheme the King of* England *ſhou'd have* Zealand, *and the King of* France *the reſt of the* Netherlands. This great Miſtery had probably remain'd ſo for ever, had not the *French* Miniſters been fond of valuing their Management and Services to the World, by publiſhing it. There remains no doubt of the truth of it, and the Reader ſhall have it in the Author's own Words, which may ſuffer by my Tranſlation: *Ce qui engagea ce Prince a ſigner un Traitè ſecret avec La France & pour l'aſſeurer encore d' avantage Henriette d' Angleterre Ducheſſe D'Orleans Princeſs qui avoit autant d'Eſprit que de Beautè ſœur du Roy d' Angleterre, et belle ſœur du Roy de France puſſa en Angleterre en* 1670, *et propoſa au Roy ſon Frere au nom du Roy Tres Chriſtien de lui aſſeurer un autoritè abſolue ſur ſon Parliament*

et

et de reſtablir la Religion Catholique dans les Royaumes, d' Angleterre, d' Ecoſſe, et d' Irlande. Mais elle diſoit que pour en venier a bout, il faloit avant toutes Choſes abaiſſer l' Orgueil & la Puiſſance des Hollandois qui ne ſongeoient qu' a mettre la diviſion parmi leur Voiſins, et les reduire a la Seule Province d' Hollande, de laquelle le Prince d' Orange ſeroit Sovereign, ou au moins Gouverneur perpetuel que ne ſeroit pas diſſicile a deux grands Rois puiſſants et blen unis et que parce moyen le Roy d' Angleterre auroit la Zelande, pour lui ſervir de Retraite en cas de Beſoin et que le Reſte des Bays bas demeureroit au Roy de France, s il pouvoit s'en rendre maiſtre.

I have not follow'd any exact Method of Chronology in this Treatiſe, not propoſing ſo much to give an Idea of Facts as that of Men, and to mention things only as they ſerve to ſhew the Men in the moſt natural Light. I ſhall therefore poſtpone the further relation of that League, and the Rupture that follow'd upon it, to obſerve how ſoon, upon the Concluſion of the *Tripple Alliance*, the Miniſtry in *England* had Thoughts of breaking of it. Sir *William Temple*, as I have hinted before, tells us the Penſionary of *Holland* wou'd not allow above Nine Months to the Vigour of that Council, which made the *Tripple League* and the Peace of *Aix*, and ſent him over to *Holland* in 1668. to purſue the great Ends of them. *Inſtead of this*, ſays he, *our Pretenſions upon the Buſineſs of* Surinam *and the* Eaſt-India *Company, have grown high, and been manag'd with Sharpneſs between us and*

the States, and grounded, (as Monſieur De Wit *conceives) more upon a Deſign of ſhewing them our ill Humour, than our Reaſon.* The *Engliſh* Miniſters began to ſhew their ſlight of the *Tripple Alliance*, by diſcouraging all the Advances made by the Emperor and other Princes, to come into it; but it was plain they were reſolv'd not to keep to thoſe Engagements, when upon the ſiezing of *Lorrain* by the *French* Troops, as is before-mention'd, the Prime Miniſter *Arlington*, wrote then to Sir *William Godolphin*, a Papiſt, but Ambaſſador from King *Charles* II. to *Spain*. " His Majeſty has receiv'd a ſad " Complaining Letter from the Duke of " *Lorrain*, claiming his Succour as a Prince " allied to him in Blood, and particularly " qualified for his good Offices by his Miſ- " fortune, which hath been ſollicited by " Monſieur *Ognati*, who deliver'd the " Letter and by the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, " ſuppoſing his Calamity may prove in the " End contagious to them as the Poſt " *France* hath gotten by it more preſſingly " threatens *Flanders*, and viſibly cuts off the " great Communication with their Neigh- " bouring Territories. His Majeſty hath " made no other Anſwer yet than that he " laments this unfortunate Prince's Condi- " tion for his own and his Neighbours ſake, " and that he will be glad to give him any " Eaſe in it that is in his Power, but that " he knows not how to go about it with a " probability of effect, till he hears what " *Spain* and the Empire ſays to it. In the " mean time the *French* Ambaſſador hath

" taken

" taken a great deal of Pains, to poſſeſs " his Majeſty and the Court here with the " many Provocations his Maſter hath re- " ceiv'd from this Prince, the notorious " Infringements of all his Treaties with " him, and the many Practices he was now " actually engag'd in againſt his Service and " the Publick Peace; which Evidences the " Ambaſſador produces, and the ill Repu- " tation this Prince hath in the World, " render very credible.

It is not at all ſtrange that the Sollicitations for aſſiſting the Duke of *Lorrain*, were ſo ineffectual, and that *Arlington* had conceiv'd ſuch a Diſguſt againſt that Prince for his ill Reputation. We can't ſuppoſe that he who was a Servant in a Court which outvy'd all the reſt of *Europe* in Gallantry, ſhou'd think the worſe of the Duke for his Amours; and then all his Reputation muſt be his breaking thoſe Engagements the *French* King had by Force extorted from him to the enſlaving of himſelf, his Family and their Poſterity. What notice that Tory Miniſter had of preſerving the Liberties of other Nations as well as our own of aſſiſting diſtreſs'd States, groaning under the Oppreſſion of *France*, and bringing *Lewis* XIV. to reaſon, may be ſeen by a Letter of his to Sir *William Temple*. *I told you early that Generoſity and keeping the Ballance even between* France *and* Spain, *wou'd be Points that might by witty Men be talk'd out of doors. I am afraid the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador and the Baron* de Iſola, *depend too much upon the Humour that reigns here, which Wiſhes* Flanders *were*

ſuccoured as the Bulwark of England, *and ſo care not to provide themſelves with more Interior and Eſſential Convincements.* There is not more Affectation in his *Eſſential Convincements*, than in his Humour of defending the Bulwark of *England*; as if the Preſerving a Barrier to our Religion, Liberty, and Trade, was a *Humour only*; but it was the Faſhion to treat ſuch Alliances as *Viſionary* and *Chimerical*, and ev'ry thing as ridiculous that had not a Tendency to *France*, tho' he himſelf pretended a Fear of an Union between *France* and *Holland*, and that it was out of ſuch an Apprehenſion, that he was backward in truſting the latter. *If* France *and* Holland *remain as united after the Peace, as they were during the Treaty of it, we are not ſecure that they may not, taking Advantage of our Diſtempers at home, break out again upon us.* Who can envy the Greatneſs of Stateſmen, their Intereſt and Honour, when they muſt do all this to obtain and preſerve them. He, who knew better than he knew himſelf, that *France* was never well united with *Holland*, never in earneſt in the War with *England*, was againſt Leaguing for the Defence of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; becauſe he was afraid the *Dutch* wou'd join with the *French* againſt us. Theſe were the Reaſons the Court of *England* furniſh'd her Miniſters with, and we might well be the Jeſt of the World, when we were ſuch Fools to one another.

Monſieur *De Wit* was one of the firſt that diſcover'd the Secret League between

France

France and *England*, not by the Articles, but the Effects of it, and yet he made no haſte to ſatisfy King *Charles*, believing perhaps that King wou'd not venture to break the *Tripple Alliance*, of which the *Engliſh* were ſo fond. He did not then know what reſources the King had, and as far as his Politicks cou'd direct him, he thought the Parliament wou'd never give him Money to act againſt a League, which they offer'd to ſupply him to maintain; and having it always in his Head, that a Compliance with *England* wou'd reſtore the *Orange* Party to their former Credit and Power, he ſeem'd reſolv'd to expect the worſt, rather than give what he thought unreaſonable Satisfaction to King *Charles*.

The Dutcheſs of *Orleans*'s arrival at *Dover* did indeed alarm him, and made him haſten away *Van Beuningen*, who had declar'd for the Prince of *Orange*'s Advancement, to *England*, where it was now viſible enough, that the Court thought no more of the Tripple League. The Miniſtry, through Corruption or Ignorance, were gain'd to the *French* Side, and *Van Beuningen* ſoon found what his Embaſſy wou'd end in. The plaineſt Account of this part of our Hiſtory, is in a Book printed in *French*, entitul'd *L'Hiſtorie de Corneille et Jean de Wit*, which I ſhall render into *Engliſh*. " If the " King of *Sweden* was not dazled with " *French* Gold, it gain'd more on the King " of *England*, by the Perſwaſions of the " Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, his Siſter, ſupported " by Monſieur *Colbert* the *French* Ambaſ- Vol. II. p. 344.

" ſador, who made the King believe what
" he wou'd. A Hundred Thouſand Pi-
" ſtoles were remitted to that Miniſter,
" which he laid out to advantage, to en-
" gage thoſe that had the greateſt Intereſt
" in the King. The Lords of the *Cabal** * Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhley, Lauderdale.
" had the greateſt part of that Money;
" they were known to be the moſt Mortal
" Enemies of the *United Provinces*. And
" *Charles* II. King of *Great Britain*, con-
" tented with the Name of King, left the
" Government to them, and ſeem'd to
" have no other Inclinations but what thoſe
" baſe Miniſters inſpir'd him with. His
" moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Bounty had all
" the Effect that cou'd be expected. This
" Wicked Miniſtry, who betray'd their
" Country, and wou'd have betray'd their
" Maſter, if they cou'd have got by it,
" pretended to give Credit to what the
" Miniſter of *France* told them of the
" Inſtances the States, both by Letters
" and their Ambaſſadors, had made to the
" *French* King to treat of an *Alliance* with
" them, that they might jointly attack
" *England*. Accordingly the *Cabal* were
" perpetually repreſenting to King *Charles*,
" that he ought no more to have any
" thing to do with a Republick, that had
" vow'd his Deſtruction. It is not to be
" doubted but this imaginary Proceeding
" of the States made a very ſtrong Im-
" preſſion on the King's Mind." Thus
far my Author, who ſeems not to know
King *Charles* ſo well as he did his Miniſters;
for there was no need of animating him
much

much to a Rupture, which none of them was ſo deſirous of as himſelf, notwithſtanding all the Obligations he had receiv'd from the *Dutch*, when he imbark'd in *Holland* for his Reſtauration in *England*. The States of that Province only having ſpent 600000 Livers to entertain his Majeſty at the *Hague*, beſides what the States General order'd to be disburſs'd on that Occaſion, inſomuch that his Majeſty declar'd, *He did not believe he cou'd find more Tenderneſs and Affection in the Hearts of his own Subjects, than he had found in thoſe of the Inhabitants of that State.* But his grateful Sentiments of their Extraordinary Generoſity were more remarkable in what he told Monſieur *De Wit*, *That the States might reſt aſſur'd he would always be conſtant in his Friendſhip to them, and wou'd have the Intereſt of their Subjects at much at heart as that of his own.* Which how he made good Four or Five Years afterwards, and Five or Six Years after that, let the Hiſtories of thoſe Times demonſtrate. I am not undertaking to prove his Majeſty's Gratitude to *Holland*, but his Affection to *France*, and ſhall again have recourſe to my *French* Author, who goes on with his Account of that Miniſtry, their inſtigating their Maſter to War, by ſhewing him how eaſy he might take Vengeance of them for their double dealing. This he does in a Speech he has put into the Mouths of the *Cabal*, whether it was his own or theirs I will not decide, but content my ſelf with repeating it as I find it. *Your Majeſty runs no Risks*, ſaid thoſe unworthy Miniſters, p. 345.

thoſe Republicans have made themſelves odious to all the Princes of Europe, *there's not one who will oppoſe you in this Undertaking; the moſt Powerful will be ſatisfy'd with being Spectators of the War, and with Pleaſure ſee the Pride of that Commonwealth humbled, a Commonwealth that has brav'd ſo many Crown'd Heads.* Spain *will be ſo far from aſſiſting them, ſhe will rejoice in the Misfortune of a Nation whom ſhe ſtill looks upon as her Rebellious Subjects. Tho' the Emperor ſhou'd be willing to defend the* United Provinces, *he dares not undertake it in this difficult Poſture of his Affairs; the* Ottoman *Empire arming ſo mightily as it does, and the Revolt of his Subjects in* Hungary, *will cut him out Work enough of his own, and hinder his thinking of others. The Court of* France, *by their Money and the Jealouſy they'll take care to maintain between the Two Northern Crowns, will engage them to remain Neuter. The War between the* Turks *and the* Poles, *will prevent the Elector of* Brandenburgh's *aſſiſting them: Nay, who does not know but he might be glad of this Opportunity to recover the Towns in the Dutchy of* Cleves, *which the States have ſo long kept from him: The Elector of* Cologne *and the Biſhop of* Munſter *deſire nothing more than to enter thoſe Provinces with their Armies. Will they be in a Condition to reſiſt ſo many Enemies attacking them on all Sides, eſpecially at a Time when Faction reigns ſo much among them.* I ſhou'd be enclin'd to take this Speech for a Fiction, if it was not a common thing for Hiſtorians to invent Speeches, and put them in the Mouths of the Perſons they introduce. I cou'd not imagine the *Cabal*

wou'd

wou'd go ſo far as *Hungary* and *Poland*, at a time when our Court ſeem'd to mind only what was done in *France*, as may be ſeen by what the Author adds afterwards. "The King of *England* ſuffer'd himſelf to "be ſeduc'd by theſe and the like Conſi-"derations, however he wou'd not ſign "the Private Treaties with *France*, *Qu'* "*apres avour recû l'argent qu' on lui avoit pro-*"*mis conſiſtant en Six nullious*, till he had "reciev'd the Money which was proms'd "him, amounting to Six Millions, be-"ſides 300000 Crowns a Month to be paid "during the War." Theſe were the Conſiderations which made King *Charles* embark in ſo dangerous and impolitick an Affair in Defiance of his Parliament, whom he cou'd aſſemble or diſmiſs, as he found them in Temper to aſſiſt him or oppoſe him, having Supplies from *France* to enable him to begin and carry on the War; and it was the ſame Reaſon that made our Court and Miniſters ſo indifferent as to the meeting or not meeting of that Aſſembly, *Some diſcontented People having flatter'd them*, ſays the Lord *Arlington*, ſpeaking of the *Dutch*, *with an Opinion that the Parliament will do Wonders for them, and prevail with his Majeſty to ſeparate from* France. One wou'd think by this, that the Diſcontented People had *flatter'd* them with falſe Notions; but what follows is as merry as the reſt of the Reflections of that Miniſter. *To undeceive them herein, his Majeſty has reſolv'd to prorogue them*, to ſhew the *Dutch* that they are miſtaken if they think the Parliament will

will not aſſiſt him, he will not let them meet. Abbot *Primi*, whoſe Maſter, Monſieur *Colbert*, was more in the Secret than the *Engliſh* Secretary himſelf, gives us a better Account of this Matter, *Le Roy d'Angleterre de ſon coſtè eſtoit embarraſsè*, &c. "As for the King of *England*, he was exceedingly perplex'd, there was need of "Money to carry on the Deſign, and that "ſecretly too. He could raiſe none at "Home without calling a Parliament, "and that could not be done without acquanting all *Europe* with his Deſigns; "there was alſo great fear of Oppoſition, "both from the Miſunderſtandings which "in that *Tumultuous Aſſembly* do for the moſt "part ariſe between the Two Houſes, "and from the Intrigues of the *Hollanders*. "His very Words are, *Outre que cette "aſſembleè tumultue uſe par la mauvaiſe Intel-"ligence qui eſt ordinairement entrê les deux "chambres & par les Intrigues des Hollan-"dois*, &c." Such is the Reſpect this *French* Writer paid to the moſt Auguſt Aſſembly in the World. He proceeds, "For which Reaſon the King of *France* "furniſh'd him with ſuch Sums of Money "as were ſufficient to equip a conſiderable "Fleet, and he adviſ'd the King of *England* (the better to conceal their Agreements) to keep a fair Correſpondence "outwardly with the *Dutch*, to appear "firm to the Tripple League, and to declare that he ſet out a Fleet for no other "Reaſons, but becauſe his Neighbours, "and eſpecially the *French*, who made

"great

" great Preparations in all their Ports up-
" on the Ocean, ſtrengthen'd themſelves
" ſo very conſiderably by Sea. „ But *Clifford* and *Arlington* had not Complacency enough for that League, to diſſemble ſo much as the *French* Miniſters would have had 'em, being more Maſters of their Buſineſs. Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* then Lord Keeper, was of another Opinion, and ſo were Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and Sir *John Trevor* Secretary of State, who were all remov'd from the *Committee for Foreign Affairs*, to make room for ſuch as would give themſelves entirely up to the management of *France*.

The Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* declar'd, as ſoon as the Tripple League was made, that *He wou'd endeavour in his Station, the Inviolable Obſervation of it*. The other three were Men of Honour, and Lovers of their Country, which was Cauſe ſufficient to diſmiſs them from a Board, where nothing either Honourable or Profitable for *England*, was to be concerted. As to the Character of the *Cabal*, they are as well known, as if they had Liv'd in of any our Times. We may ſee what was to be expected from *Arlingtun*, by one of the Articles in the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Charge againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*, whom he accuſes for ſaying on the Removal of Secretary *Nicholas*, to make room for Sir *Henry Bennet*, *That His Majeſty had given* 10000 *l. to remove a Zealous Proteſtant, that he might bring into that Place of Truſt, a Concealed Papiſt*; and that the Earl ſhould ſay further,

ther, of the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, *If he had not ſtood in the Gap, Popery had been introduc'd into this Kingdom.* Every one has heard of *Clifford*'s abandoning his Poſt, to own himſelf a Papiſt, and of the Scandalous Life and Morals of *Lauderdale*. *Buckingham*'s various Character, is well deſcrib'd by *Dryden*, in *Abſolam* and *Achitophel*; and *Aſhley*'s Troubleſome and unſettled Humour, will add no great Reputation to that *Miniſtry:* However the two latter aton'd for their ill Council, by their Steady Adherence to the Cauſe of Liberty afterwards. The Three former, as they Dy'd in Political Impeninence, have left us juſt Grounds to have an Eternal Abhorrence of a *Stanch Tory Miniſtry*, which ever was, and ever muſt be for *France*, and againſt *Holland*.

There was all the Reaſon in the World, for our Court to have kept Firm to the *Tripple Alliance*, which would not only have preſerv'd the *Netherlands*, but hinder'd the future Power of *Lewis* XIV. and made King *Charles* Arbiter of the Affairs of *Europe*. But they were inſenſible of every thing, neither Honour, Intereſt, nor Reſentment, could touch them; or elſe, after ſo much Expreſſion of Brotherly Love and Tenderneſs to the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, at the Interview of *Dover*, her ſudden Death would have had other Effects in *England*. 'Twas generally believ'd both in *France* and *England*, that ſhe was Poiſon'd, and by her Husband, who had expreſs'd ſome Diſſatisfaction in her Conduct. I am

not

not here to write Madam's Apology or Accuſation, but to relate what Grounds there were to believe ſhe came by an Untimely End, and that too immediately after the Merit of making, or Confirming the Private League, begun by *Colbert*. A Reverend Deanary of our Church, ſpeaking of this Event, has theſe Expreſſions; *Our Court in great Amazement, durſt not betray a Suſpicion of her indirect way of Dying, but gave this ſoft Account of it*, June 22, 1670. "This Day arriv'd an Expreſs from Mr. "*Mountague*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at "*Paris*, with the ſad News of the Death "of Madam, his Majeſty's only Siſter, "to the infinite Grief and Affliction of "their Majeſties and Royal Highneſſes, "as well for the Greatneſs of this Loſs, "as for the Aſtoniſhing Suddenneſs of "it. She Dy'd at St. *Clou*, about four of "the Clock on *Monday* Morning, of a "ſudden and violent Diſtemper, which "had ſeiz'd her at Five of the Clock the "Evening before, and was by the Phy-"ſicians taken for a kind of Bilious "Cholick. The Neceſſity there is for Tricking Courtiers to diſſemble their Paſſions, and put a violent Conſtraint upon Nature, does not the leaſt contribute to the miſerableneſs of their Condition. But the wretched Colours they are forc'd to give their Actions, to amuſe the Publick, reduce 'em to a State of Contempt or Pity. *Infinitely are we Griev'd and Afflicted*, but durſt not betray our Suſpicion *of any indirect Methods*, tho' they had ſufficient

ficient Intimation of it, *by ſome Letters from the late Duke of* Mountague, *who was actually on the Spot*; from whence we ſhall borrow the following Particulars, taking only what is moſt material.

June 30, 1670.

MAdam on Sunday *the 29th of this Inſtant, being at St.* Clou, *with a great deal of Company, about Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, call'd for a Glaſs of Chicory Water that was preſcrib'd her to drink, ſhe having for twoor three Days after Bathing, found her ſelf indiſpos'd: She had no ſooner drank this, but ſhe cry'd out ſhe was Dead, and fell into Madam* Maſcbourgh's *Arms, and deſired to be put to Bed, and have a Confeſſor: She continued in the greateſt Tortures imaginable, till Three a Clock in the Morning, when ſhe Dy'd,* &c.

July 6, 1670.

I Suppoſe by this time, you may have with you the Marſhal De Bellefonds, *who, beſides his Condolance, will endeavour, I believe, to diſabuſe our Court of what the Court and People here will never be diſabus'd of, which is,* Madam's *being Poiſon'd; which having ſo good an Authority, as her own ſaying it ſeveral times in her great Pains, makes the Report much more Credited. But to me in Particular, when I asked her ſeveral times whether ſhe thought her ſelf Poiſon'd, ſhe would anſwer nothing:*

I

I believe, being willing to ſpare the addition of ſo great a Trouble to the King our Maſter, which was the Reaſon why, in my firſt Letter, I made no mention of it. The King and the Miniſters here, ſeem extreamly afflicted with the Loſs of Madam, and I do not doubt but they are, for they hoped upon her Conſideration, to bring the King our Maſter, to condeſcend to things, and enter into a Friendſhip with this Crown, ſtricter perhaps, than they think he will now She's no more. But Mr. *Mountague*, the then Ambaſſador, was at that time none of the Court Confidents, he did not know how many Millions in hand was to be paid his Maſter, enough to comfort him, for more than the Loſs of a Siſter, that of his Honour, and the Love of his People. *What was begun*, continues he, *or what was intended, I will not preſume to ſearch into, ſince Your Lordſhip does not think fit to communicate the leaſt part of it to me; but I cannot help knowing the Town-talk; all I deſire to know, my Lord, is that whilſt I am here, I may know what Language to hold in Converſation with the other Miniſters, that I may not be Ridiculous with the Character I have upon me.*

P. S. *Monſieur complains extreamly of the King our Maſter, for having a Confidence with Madam, and treating things with her, without his Knowledge.*

To

To the KING; *July* 15.

I Had the Honour on the Saturday, *which was the Day before Madam Dy'd, to entertain her a great while, the moſt of her Diſcourſe being concerning Monſieur, and how impoſſible ſhe ſaw it was for her to live Happily with him, for he was fallen out with her worſe than ever,* &c. He acquaints his Majeſty afterwards, of the Dutcheſs's telling him how ſhe had perſwaded him to joyn with *France*, againſt *Holland*, ſpeaks of her Illneſs, and adds, *I ask'd her then, if ſhe believ'd her ſelf Poiſon'd, Her Confeſſor that was by, underſtood that Word, and told her* Madam, *you muſt accuſe no Body, but offer up your Death to God as a Sacrifice; ſo ſhe would never anſwer me to that Queſtion, tho' I asked ſeveral times, but would only ſhrink up her Shoulders.*

July 15.

To the Lord *Arlington*,

'THere has been ever ſince Madam's *Death, as you may imagine upon theſe Occaſions, various Reports, that of her being Poiſon'd, prevailing above all the reſt, which has diſorder'd the Miniſtry here, to the greateſt degree that can be. For my own Particular, I have been ſo ſtruck with it, that I have hardly had the Heart to ſtir out ſince, which joyn'd with the Reports of the Town, how much the King our Maſter reſented ſo Horrid a Fact, that he would not receive Monſieur's Letter, and that he*

he Commanded me Home, made them conclude that the King our Maſter, was diſſatisfy'd with this Court, to the Degree it was reported.
" This is only to give your Lordſhip an
" Account of what I believe you know
" already, of the Chevalier *De Lorain*'s
" being permitted to come to Court, and
" to ſerve in the Army as a *Marſhal-De*
" *Camp* to the King.

If Madam *were Poiſon'd, as few People doubt, he is lookt upon by all* France, *to have done it; and it is wonder'd at by all* France, *that the King ſhould have ſo little regard to the King of* England, *our Maſter, conſidering how Inſolently he always carried himſelf to her when ſhe was alive, as to permit his Return. It is my Duty to let you know this, to tell his Majeſty, and if he think fit, to ſpeak to the* French *Ambaſſador to do it Vigorouſly; for I aſſure you, it reflects here much upon him to ſuffer it.* Tho' from what has been mention'd on this Subject, there ſeems to be ſufficient Cauſe of Suſpicion, that the King's Siſter had been Poiſon'd, and the Aſſaſſins taken into the *French* Kings Favour, yet the Court of *England* was ſo Afflicted, that they would not give Ear to any ſuch Wicked Inſinuation, for fear of increaſing their Grief; or what is moſt likely, of being oblig'd to reſent it, and conſequently to break the Golden Treaty with *France*. *Arlington* gives a moſt Subſtantial Reaſon for our not believing it, which is, that the *French* King did not. *The Embroilments that were in her Domeſticks* ſays he, *and the Suddenneſs of her Death,*

made the Opinion eaſily take Place with us, that She was Poiſon'd, &c. But the Diſſection and the Perſwaſion we underſtand His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is in, (whom it behoves to know this Matter to the bottom) that She did not Dye of a Violent Death, hath taken off the greateſt part of our Suſpicions: And Monſieur the Mareſchal De Bellefonds, *will, we ſuppoſe, entirely convince us, that we have nothing to Lament herein, but the Loſs of this Admirable Princeſs, without any Odious Circumſtance.* And yet this Perſon ſo eaſily ſatisfi'd, was particularly recommended by Madam in her laſt Agonies, to the King her Brother's Favour, no doubt, for his Kindneſs to the *Catholicks*, and his eſpouſing the *French* League. But the Matter was huſh'd up, and the Mareſchal *De Bellefonds* met with as kind a Reception, as if he had come to Notify her Nuptials.

His Arrival in *England*, alarm'd the *Dutch* Miniſters in our Court, and Monſ. *De Wit* no longer doubted of a good Underſtanding between King *Charles* and *Lewis* XIV. tho' the Miniſtry in *England* acted their Parts very well, purſuant to the Inſtructions given 'em by *France*, not to ſeem at all inclin'd to break the Alliance, till the Two Courts were ready to ſtrike the Deciſive Blow. Tho' the Duke of *Buckingham* was diſpatch'd to *France*, to return Monſieur *De Bellefond*'s Compliment, and purſue his Negotiations, yet ſo well did the Court of *England* diſſemble, that they diſſipated all Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador's

Appre-

Apprehenſions, and made him look on the Voyages of the Mareſchal and Duke, as pure Ceremonies only. The Ambaſſador writing to *Holland*, that it was his Opinion, *That as far as Common Appearance would go, he had all the Reaſon that could be to believe, that nothing had been Treated of by the Mareſchal, or the Duke, nor was ever intended, to the Prejudice of King* Charles's *Alliance with the* Dutch. However, Monſieur *De Wit*'s Jealouſies was not Cur'd; he declar'd to Sir *William Temple*, that he had obſerv'd *A Coldneſs in all our Negotiations, ever ſince Madam's Journey into* England; *and upon the late Journey of the Duke of* Buckingham *to* Paris, *which he could not think was Pour voir le Pais ou apprendre la langue*, To ſee the Country, or learn the Language. *He deſir'd the Ambaſſador to tell him what he could make of all this laid together; for on the one ſide there were Circumſtances enough to awake a Suſpicious Man; and on the other ſide, he could never think it poſſible for any Nation or Court it ſelf, to quit ſo certain a Point of Intereſt, and a great Point of Honour, as muſt be forfeited, by our breaking our Alliance with them.* He added, *His Majeſty had engaged the States in thoſe Common Meaſures, and even prevail'd with them to make a Sacrifice of the Ancient Kindneſs and Alliance the States had always before with* France, *to the Conſiderations of the preſent Danger from the Greatneſs of that Crown, to the reſt of* Chriſtendom, *tho' they might have had what Terms they pleas'd from them, for the dividing of* Flanders. True it

was, King *Charles*, put upon it by the Clamours of his Subjects, had engag'd the *Dutch* in the Tripple League, and drawn on them the Diſpleaſure of *France*, to which he was now about to joyn himſelf, for the Deſtruction of the Republick. Sir *William Temple* was not let into the Secret, and could only anſwer the Penſionary, *He confeſs'd he was apt to make many of thoſe Reflections himſelf had done, but could not believe it poſſible for any Crown ever to enter into Councils ſo Deſtructive to their Honour and Safety: That if ſuch a Thing ſhould ever happen, de deſir'd Monſieur* De Wit *to remember what he told him upon the Scruple he had made, in truſting our Court upon the Negotiations of the Triple Alliance* of his Majeſty's and the Miniſters good Reſolutions. He continued, *I cannot believe it poſſible for them to change in a Point of ſo evident Intereſt, and which will be ſo underſtood by the whole Nation. However, I can anſwer for no Body beſides my ſelf, but this I will that if ever ſuch a thing ſhould happen, I will never have any Part in it*; which he ſaid, *He had told the King, as well as him, and would make it good.* The Ambaſſador needed not to have taken that Precaution, the Miniſtry knew he was not a Man to be ſent on all their Wicked Errands, and it was one of their Firſt Steps towards the War, to recal him. In the mean time, that Upright Miniſter the Lord *Arlington*, was doing his beſt to deceive Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, and the other Foreign Ambaſſadors concern'd in the Support of that Alliance. What

Fact

Face he put upon our Courts cloſe Correſpondence with *France*, will appear by a Paſſage in a Letter of his to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*; "Monſieur *Van Beuningen* was with me yeſterday, being full of theſe Apprehenſions, and inferring poſitively from them, that the Peace would be immediately broken; I told him I could not believe it, becauſe the King our Maſter, hath all the Moral Aſſurances that can be receiv'd from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he will inviolably keep the Peace of *Aix La Chapelle*." The Reader is deſir'd to obſerve, that this was written Two Months after Madam had been at *Dover*, whereas ſhe declar'd at her Death, ſhe had perſwaded her Brother to joyn with *France* againſt *Holland*; and long after *Colbert*'s Treaty was concluded, he goes on "In the Confidence of which, we live in a perfect good Underſtanding with the Court," in the Confidence of his keeping that Peace which the Two Kings had engag'd themſelves to break. Again, "And ſuch Civilities paſs between the Two Kings, as give much Umbrage and Offence to Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, particularly his Majeſty's ſending the Duke of *Buckingham* to requite the Complements brought hither by the Mareſchal *De Belleſonds*, &c." This Miniſter and the Lord *Clifford*, were in the depth of the Buſineſs; *Buckingham* and *Aſhley* not admitted ſo far, and *Lauderdale* a Tool, to be us'd or laid by at Pleaſure; being eaſily contented with

the Share he had of the *Gallant* Miniſtry, in which he was *Prime*, while *Clifford* was at the Head of the *Political*. The latter being a Staunch *Papiſt*, could not but bear Mortal Hatred to the *Dutch*, as may be ſeen by what paſt between him and Sir *William Temple*, upon Sir *William*'s Return from *Holland*, after much Anger expreſt againſt the *Dutch*, and the Ambaſſador's Strenuous Vindication of his Negotiations. Sir *William* gives this Account of it himſelf, in a Letter to his Father. *Being I confeſs, a little heated, after ſo long and unpleaſant a Converſation (as well as He) I aſkt him in the Name of God, what he thought a Man could do more? Upon this, in a great Rage, he anſwer'd me, That he would tell me what a Man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was to let the King, and all the World know, how baſely and unworthily the* States *had us'd him; and to declare Publickly, how their Miniſters were a Company of Rogues and Raſcals, and not fit for his Majeſty, or any other Prince, to have any thing to do with.* And when the Peace was actually broken, and the *French* King had Invaded the *United Provinces*, the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* having aſſiſted the *Dutch*, this was the Miniſter who undertook to have the Governor Checkt, and to get a Stop put to Succours for the future, by a Letter to Sir *William Godolphin* at *Madrid*. *There are now at leaſt, between* 10 *and* 12000 *Men, Horſe and Foot, of theirs in the* Holland *Service and Garriſons, which is contrary to their Treaty made with us; and tho' they might ſend Auxili-*

Auxiliaries, notwithſtanding any Treaties they have made with France, *yet to ſend ſuch Numbers, is ſo provoking a thing, that it will be a wonder if the Moſt Chriſtian King doth not March with his Army to* Bruſſels, *and the World will juſtifie him in it.* So careful were our Miniſters of every thing that might put the leaſt ſtop to the Progreſs of the *French* King's Arms, that inſtead of aſſiſting them, as we had bound our ſelves by ſeveral Treaties, they would not ſuffer any one elſe to do it. *Clifford* was in earneſt, for rooting out that Heretical Republican State, and reſtoring the Tyranny and Glory of the *Popiſh Religion* and *Government* all over *Chriſtendom.* Theſe Proceedings of *France* and *England*, could not probably have had the deſir'd Effect, had *Sweden* continu'd firm in her Alliances with *Holland.* To debauch that Court Mr. *Coventry* was diſpatch'd away Ambaſſador to *Stockholm*, and he did not find it a very difficult Work to take off the Edge of their Zeal for the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*, which had always been Partial. And as the *French* Party there prevail'd or declin'd, it decreas'd or diminiſh'd. But ever ſince the Irruption of the *Swedes* into *Germany*, and the great Subſidies *France* paid to that Nation, the Miniſtry had been ſo us'd to touch *French* Gold, that their Party in *Sweden*, was far from being inconſiderable. The Court of *France* always took Care to Cultivate their Intereſt, and feed the Avarice of the *Swediſh* Miniſters. In this Scituation of Affairs,

the firſt War between *England* and *Holland* broke out, in which by the Influence of *France* the *Swedes* ſo behav'd themſelves, that the *Dutch* always apprehended their Arms at their Backs, and the *Engliſh* were never the better for their Friendſhip. The Subſidies they were to have from *Spain*, tempted them into the *Triple League*; all *Chriſtendom* being alarm'd at the *French* King's over-running the *Netherlands*, and the *Swedes* after their Succeſs in *Germany*, affecting to concern themſelves very much in the Affairs of *Europe*. But *France* all the while had a good underſtanding with that Court, which is evident from what Sir *William Temple* writes of them himſelf. " The ſhort of the Story " is the *Dutch* take them to be Parties " and engaged by new Agreements with " *France*; and moſt of their Chief Miniſters have been all along too Partial to " *France*; among whom, none more than " their late Ambaſſador in *France*, and " this in *England*; but they believe the " *Swedes* would be very glad to avoid the " Entring this Year into the Game. And to Colour their Artifices with the *French* the better, they pretended for ſome time, to Mediate between the Two Crowns and *Holland*. 'Twas our Care in *England*, to diſengage them from the *Triple Alliance*: Our Ambaſſador was ſent to buy them off with *French* Money but we wanted ſo much our ſelves, *France* was not quick enough in her Payments, or *Sweden* had been early in the War againſt the *Dutch*,

for

for whoſe Safety the League was made as either *England* or *France*. A little before the War broke out, *Arlington* wrote Sir *William Godolphin*, his Brother Proſelyte in *Spain*, *Lord Ambaſſador* Coventry, *gives no great hopes of his Agreement in* Sweden, *which is for want of a ſmall Sum of Money, which* France *bargain'd for, which we hope we ſhall perſwade them to give.*

Thus it was, by the Weakneſs and Corruption of the Miniſters of the Powers which Form'd the Triple Alliance, that *France* broke that Famous League, which had it been maintain'd, would have ſav'd ſo many Hundred Millions of Money, and ſo many Hundred Thouſand Lives, as within theſe twenty Years it has coſt the Confederacy, to reduce Her Exorbitant Power. We have ſeen what Integrity there was in the *Engliſh* and *Swediſh* Councils; we have ſeen alſo, how Monſieur *De Wit* behav'd himſelf on the Occaſion of the Rupture which was threaten'd by *England*; but what the Lord *Arlington* ſays of it, will give ſome clearer Light to his Myſterious Conduct. He is ſpeaking of the *Dutch*: *Their Apprehenſions from Abroad, will not ſo quickly ceaſe; for beſides the Terrible Force that threatens them from* France, *their Preparations of all kinds are ſo retarded, that many think Monſieur* De Wit *ſuffers them to be ſo, that he may thereby inforce their Agreement, or rather Submiſſion to* France. *In a Word, he ſees the War drives the Promotion of the Prince ſo ſtrongly on, that he cares not what Peace he makes.* Such is the Condition

of

of thoſe Miniſters, who are ſupported by *Faction* only; they care not what Engagements they enter into, nor what are the Effects of them, if it ſerves their preſent Turn. How fatal *De Wit's* Fear of the Prince's Party, prov'd to the *United Provinces*, is evident in what Sir *William Temple* tells us of his Management at that Dangerous Conjuncture. *The Baſeneſs and Cowardice of their Troops, were the Effects of turning out all Officers of Worth and Bravery, for their Inclinations to the Prince, and mean Fellows brought in, for no other Deſert, than their Enmity declar'd to the Houſe of* Orange. *Upon this, all Men expected a ſudden Change; the States were in diſorder, and irreſolute what to do; Faction, Diſtruſt, Sedition and Diſtraction, made ſuch Entrances upon the State and the Army, when the* French *Troops firſt Invaded them.* What a pity it is, that Men of good Capacities, and great Experience, ſhould be ſo far abandon'd to Revenge or Avarice, that not the Conſideration of their Poſterity, their Country and Religion, can ſway with them to give up their Ill-gotten Power, for the Preſervation of every thing held dear by Mankind? One can't imagine that an Old Quarrel, ſuch as the ſeizing *Jacob de Wit*, the Father of *Cornelius* and *John*, could Twenty Years after animate the Two Sons againſt the Houſe of *Orange*, without ſome other Cogent Reaſons; which *France* of all Nations in the World, knew how to improve. The Friendſhip between the *French* Miniſters and *De Wit*, could not be entirely

for

for the Support of the *Republick*; and when the War was Proclaim'd, and *Cornelius* had by *Brigues* obtain'd the Command of the *Dutch* Fleet, his ſparing the *French* Squadron was ſo plain, that it was complain'd of at that time. An Author then Living writes, "It is obſervable, that "the greateſt Number of the *Dutch* "Commanders are of Opinion, and have "often Publickly declar'd, That the "*French* Ships were thus kindly us'd by "theirs, out of a particular Reſpect *de* "*Wit*'s Brother had to them. I ſhall not enlarge on the War in 1672. it being amply treated of in many Hiſtories; particularly one lately Publiſh'd, ſaid to be written by a *Member of the then Houſe of Commons*; but come to the Cataſtrophe of the Two Brothers, the *De Wit*'s, who ſo baſely betray'd the *Common Cauſe* in all their Stations.

Sir *George Downing*, the Lord *Arlington*'s *Rough Hand*, as he call'd him, coming to the *Hague*, and in his uſual Stile Bullying the *States*, the Rupture, and ill Condition of the Republick to enter into it, appear'd more and more daily. As it did ſo, the Call for the Prince of *Orange* was the more Clamorous; but *De Wit*'s *Faction* would not conſent to his Advancement higher, than *Captain General*, nor to that, unleſs he renounc'd the *Stadtholderate*. The beſt Argument *De Wit* could give to the Prejudice of his Promotion, was Thrift, and the Money it would ſave the *Common-Wealth*; as if nothing was to be given

to *Dignity* and *Magnificence*, but all to *Oeconomy*. 'Twas a hard ſaying of *Milton*, the *Trappings of a Monarchy would maintain a Common-Wealth*; and fine Stories they tell us of the *Roman* good Husbandry, but it was when *Rome* was Poor and Young. What ſhe did *Illuſtrious* and *Wonderful*, was in the height of her *Magnificence*, and the Figure of a State, has often had a very great ſhare in her Fortune. 'Tis true, when it is one Young, and has it not, Thrift and Oeconomy are abſolutely neceſſary; but conſidering how much Appearance governs all things, the Pomp and Splendor of a Court, gives an anſwerable Idea of its Greatneſs and Power, both at Home and Abroad; and it is with the Publick, as with Private Perſons, *He who looks mean, will always be thought ſo.*

I never pretended to any exactneſs of Method in this Treatiſe, and therefore the Liberty of this Digreſſion is the more excuſable. To return to my Subject, it was not in *De Wit*'s Power, any longer to hinder the Prince of *Orange*'s Party, among whom, now appear'd Monſieur *De Beverning*, and Monſieur *Van Beuningen*, and the City of *Amſterdam*, from Electing his Highneſs *Captain General* and *Admiral General*. However, he procur'd a New Poſt for his Brother, of *Plenipotentiary* aboard the Fleet, whoſe Tenderneſs to the *French*, in the firſt Battel at Sea, has been mentioned. The Prince's Friends began to be lookt upon as thoſe of the State, and all the Ravages of the *French* in the Provinces,

were

were laid to his Charge, whoſe Councils had ever been on their ſide. The Penſionary had all along flatter'd himſelf that *England* would never joyn with *France* againſt *Holland*, and then the Progreſs of the *French* Arms would only humble the *Orange* Party, and confirm his own Authority. The *Engliſh* Miniſters, purſuant to their Inſtructions from the *French*, diſſembled the Matter with the *Dutch* pretty well. King *Charles* diſmiſs'd out of his Ports a Fleet of Merchant Men, and ſome *Amſterdam* Veſſels. He recall'd Sir *George Downing* his Ambaſſador, for ſpeaking with too much warmth to the States General. In ſhort, he ſeem'd in all his Actions, to declare that he intended to keep a good Correſpondence between them, while the Breaches grew every day wider and wider between *France* and *Holland*. Yet the Deſign was not carry'd on ſo ſecretly, but the States Reſidents at *London*, and the Miniſters of other Princes in King *Charles*'s Court, gave the *Hollanders* ſuch Authentick Advice of it, that they found it was paſt Remedy. The Penſionary *De Wit*, fell in a Swoon in the *Stadthouſe*, upon reading a Letter which gave him an Account of it; but he ſoon recover'd himſelf, and ſpar'd for neither Thought nor Vigilance, to provide againſt the impending Storm: And it was in this Fright, that the *De Wits* and their Friends, conſented to the Prince's Election; whom, till that Moment, ſays the Abbot *Primi*, *They roundly affirm'd to be a Serpent foſter'd in the Boſom*

Boſom of the Republick; *that to declare him General, was the ſame thing as to make him Soveraign*; *that all the Provinces were devoted to him, except* Holland; *and if the latter could depreſs, and entirely ruin the Houſe of* Orange, *it would be attended with the Benediction of all Poſterity, and look'd upon as the Soul of the Common-Wealth. They remonſtrated, if once the Prince found himſelf at the Head of the Troops, it would be no difficult matter for him to keep up his Authority, during the whole Courſe of the War, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Office of Stadtholder, and after that, to make himſelf Soveraign.* Such Reaſoning as this, at a Juncture when the State was threaten'd by an Army of 120000 Men, and the *French* King at the Head of them, with whom *De Wit* and his Party had always been for Leaguing, was enough to enrage the *Hollanders*, who ſaw at laſt, that their only Security was in the Zeal and Bravery of the Prince of *Orange*, to whoſe Anceſtors, the Republick ow'd its Being. And tho' *De Wit*'s Brother went to Sea as *Plenipotentiary*, yet it was plain the Prince's Friends increas'd daily, and the Faction of *De Wit* grew every Day leſs. The Rabble in all the Towns of *Holland*, ſhew'd their Animoſity againſt the Two Brothers, and it was no difficult matter to preſage, what an Authority obtain'd by *Violent Methods*, ſupported by the *Friendſhip* of *France*, manag'd with *Craft* and *Tricking*, and preſerv'd in Prejudice of the moſt *Noble and Worthy Perſons* of the State, would end in.

Sir

Sir *William Temple*, a Year or Two before the Tragedy of the *De Wits*, wrote thus to the Lord *Arlington* of the Penſionary: "There is a violent Humour runs againſt "him of late in the Town of *Amſterdam*, "upon Pretext of his growing too far in- "to the Sway of all Affairs in this State, "and of advancing his own Friends into "Offices and Places of Truſt with too "much Induſtry; but I ſuppoſe the bot- "tom of this is the ſame with that of all "Popular Humours, that is, a Deſign in "the Leaders to change the Scene, that "ſo thoſe who have been long employ'd, "may make room for thoſe who have "been long out. I am not of Opinion "they will ſucceed to prejudice him ſud- "denly, *&c.*" Sometime before this he had ſaid he believ'd he cou'd not be remov'd *without ſome Violent Revolution:* The worſt way of removing Miniſters, as weak'ning the Foundation of all Governments. And it muſt be but a Melancholly Reflection, for any Miniſter to conſider he owes his Power to the Rage of the Rabble; the Multitude being ſooner weary of their Favourites than Soveraigns, and ſeldom failing of pulling them down with the ſame Fury that they ſet them up.

The Rapidity of the *French* King's Conqueſts, exaſperated the *Dutch* againſt thoſe that ſhou'd, they thought, have prevented it. The News of the taking of *Rhineberg*, *Weſel*, *Orſci*, and *Burick*, coming all at once, made the Populace outragious. And it

was

was reported of *De Wit*, the Penſionary, that he had timely Intimation of the intended Sieges of thoſe Towns, and had been guilty of great Negligence, in not providing for the Defence of them. *Nay*, continues my Author, *there were ſome who inſinuated, that he had Secret Correſpondence with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Miniſters, and neglected that Intimation as uncertain and trivial, to hinder the putting thoſe Places in a Poſture of Defence.* In the mean time *Cornelius de Wit* was publickly exclaim'd againſt, for not having entirely deſtroy'd the *French* Fleet in the Battel fought in 1672. which it was ſaid he might eaſily have done. He was the firſt that the Populace inſulted. Four or Five Fellows attempted his Houſe in *June*, but his Domeſticks kept them out till the Guard came to his Aſſiſtance. A Few Days afterwards the Penſionary was aſſaulted in the Streets, and the Aſſaſſins were diſcover'd by *Henry Verhoof*, the very Man that was afterwards moſt inſtrumental in his Maſſacre. His being inexorable when one of the Ruffians was condemn'd, and Application was made to him for a Pardon heighten'd the general Animoſity againſt him: The Man who was hang'd for the Aſſault being of a good Family, and *De Wit* was only ſlightly wounded. However, the States of *Holland* thought fit to give him an Aſſiſtant. And it was at this time of his Miniſtry, that the Publick Credit, which before was the moſt flouriſhing of any in *Europe*, ſunk ſo low that the Pro-

Provinces Bonds were diſcounted at the rate of 70 *per Cent* loſs. The *Eaſt-India* Company's Stock fell to 25. And the Bank, which was Four or Five *per Cent* better than Specie, was Four or Five *per Cent* worſe. At *Dort* the People roſe againſt the Magiſtrates, to oblige them to repeal the *Perpetual Edict*, which kept the Prince of *Orange* from the *Stadtholderate*. The Magiſtrates conſenting to it, the Prince was deſir'd, by Deputies from that Town, of which the *De Wit's* were, to come thither, and accept of that Dignity which his Highneſs did to appeaſe the Multitude and ſatisfy the Magiſtrates, who by their Readineſs to Elect him ſhew'd they wanted only the welcome Violence of the People, to juſtifie the breaking their former Engagement, to which they were as well inclin'd. *Cornelius De Wit* refus'd at firſt to ſign the Inſtrument, declaring the Prince *Stadtholder*, and when at laſt he did it by the Perſwaſions of his Wife, he added Two Letters to his Name V C, *vi coactus*, *by Force*; which one of his Brother Councellors of that City obſerving, he was oblig'd to ſtrike them out. *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Tergouw*, and *Hearlem*, follow'd the Example of *Dort*, and the Multitude at *Hearlem* being inform'd, the Penſionary was at the Houſe of one Monſieur *Sypeſtein*, in that Town, ran thither to pull him out of it, and miſſing him they plunder'd the Houſe. The States of *Zealand* began the Abrogation of the *Perpetual Edict* in form, and thoſe of *Holland* follow'd their Example.

Which gave the laſt Blow to the abſolute Authority of that Artful Miniſter *De Witt*, and open'd the Mouths of all his ill Whiſperers. He was accus'd of applying to his own Uſe the Money allow'd by the State for Intelligence, to the Value of 80000 Florins a Year; but I don't find it was prov'd upon him: And indeed I ſhou'd have wonder'd, if a Man of his Cunning ſhou'd have expos'd himſelf to the Proof of ſuch a Corruption. Some Authors write, that the Prince of *Orange* deſir'd him to continue in his Office, after he was declar'd *Stadtholder*; but whatever was done of that Nature, muſt be with ſo much Affectation that the Penſionary cou d not be gain'd by it, knowing how juſtly his Highneſs and all his Friends were on ill Terms with him; That there cou d be no Confidence, and that his Meaſures with *France* muſt for ever have ruin'd his Credit with the contrary Party. 'Tis certain when he came to compliment the Prince on his Promotion, he met with a very cold Reception, which ſo chagrin'd him, that Three or Four Days after he deſir'd to reſign his Poſt, which was not granted; his own Friends ſtanding firmly by him, and the Prince not being willing to have ſo great a Change in the Miniſtry, at ſo perilous a Juncture. Still the People rag'd againſt the Two Brothers, and ev'ry Succeſs of the *French* inflam'd them the more. I will not enter into the Particulars of their Death, but only repeat what Sir *William Temple* writes of it. "In the mean time the State

of

" and the Government of *Holland*, took a
" New Form, and with it a New Heart.
" Monſieur *De Wit* and his Brother had
" been Maſſacred by the ſudden Fury of
" the People, *and by the Fate of Miniſters*
" *that Govern by a Party or Faction*, who are
" uſually Sacrific'd to the firſt great Miſ-
" fortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate,
" or the general Diſcontents at home.
" The Fact, and the manner having been
" very unuſual, may be the Subject of
" other Enquiries, as it was of mine
" which gave me this Account. *The*
" *Ruard* of *Pullen*, Eldeſt Brother to Mon-
" ſieur *De Wit*, had been accus'd of a
" Deſign upon the Prince's Life, and of
" endeavouring by Money, to engage one
" of his Highneſs's Domeſticks in that
" Attempt But no other Witneſs appear-
" ing, he was Sentenc'd only to be Ba-
" niſh'd, at which the People ſhow'd great
" Diſſatisfaction, being poſſeſt with an
" Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning
" he was to come out of Priſon, Mon-
" ſieur *De Wit*, againſt the Opinion of his
" Friends, would needs go himſelf to
" bring him out with more Honour,
" and carry him out of Town, and to
" that Purpoſe went with his Coach and
" Four Horſes to the Court. This be-
" ing not uſual to this Miniſter, made
" the People to take more Notice of it,
" and gather together more Tumultu-
" ouſly; firſt in the Streets where he
" paſt, and then about the Court where
" the Priſoner was kept. Some of the

" Train'd Bands of the *Hague*, that
" were upon the Guard, mingled among
" them, and began to rail aloud againſt
" the Judgment of the Court, the Crime
" of one Brother, and the Inſolence of
" the other, who pretended (as they ſaid)
" to carry him away in Triumph. In the
" midſt of this Heat and Paſſion, rais'd by
" theſe kind of Diſcourſes, among the
" Populace, the Two Brothers came out;
" ſome of the Train'd Bands ſtop'd them,
" began to treat them at firſt with ill
" Language, and from Words fell to
" Blows; upon which Monſieur *De Wit*
" foreſeeing how that Tragedy would
" end, took his Brother by the Hand,
" and was at the ſame time knockt down
" with the But-end of a Musket; they
" were both preſently laid Dead upon the
" Place, then dragg'd about the Town by
" the Fury of the People, and torn in
" Pieces.

Such was the End of this Miniſter and his Brother, too great to be come at by due Forms, and perhaps too Innocent. His Abilities none can queſtion, whatever Suſpicion his Honeſty lyes under; which ſeems the more doubtful, for that from his Time, the *Hollanders* fell heartily into all Methods againſt *France*, which they never would do, while he was at the Helm, till utter Ruin lookt 'em in the Face, and the *French* Armies were at their Gates. I abhor all Appeals to the Populace, knowing they never were for, or againſt a Party, but as their Frenzy led them: And that

that

that *Cauſe*, which is founded on their Protection, muſt be as Vile as its *Projectors*, and ſink, whatever its Succeſs may for a while be, to the Filth of its Origin. Yet I cannot help obſerving, that the Rabble have always been more Juſt and Reaſonable in their Tumultuous Proceedings, than the Miniſters of Arbitrary and Tyrannical Governments; that Nations have ſometimes been delivered by the one, but never met with any thing from the other, but Miſery and Deſtruction; and that the Multitude in their Fury are not to be ſo much dreaded, as the Violence and Rage of an Unjuſt and Revengeful Miniſtry.

Several Authors have Treated of what happen'd between *England*, *France* and *Holland*, in the Second *Dutch* War; I ſhall only touch upon thoſe things that few or none have handled before, at leaſt not ſo thoroughly, and to the bottom. We have already ſeen, by what Methods *France* engaged King *Charles* in that War, which was ſo Ruinous to his Honour and Intereſt. He broke the moſt advantageous Alliance he ever made, to enter into the moſt Scandalous one; He became a Penſioner to *France* Abroad, and a Bankrupt to his Subjects at Home; He diſpens'd with the Law in his Declaration of Indulgence, and with his Word, in attacking the *Dutch* Fleet without a War declar'd; an Action of ſo foul a Nature, that it could come from nothing but *French* Councils; which the Abbot *Primi* ſhews very plainly. *The*

King of France, ſays he, *would not ſuffer the Rage of the* Engliſh *againſt the* Dutch *to cool, but he rather endeavour'd to plunge them in a War, by ſuch an Action as might Correſpond to their Earneſt Deſire of being reveng'd: And the Deſign ſoon ſucceeded, for the* French *having Notice of the Return of the* Dutch Smyrna *Fleet, which were then at Sea, they immediately acquainted the King of* England *with it*, and told him, "That this was a favourable "Opportunity for him to engage the "*Engliſh* in a certain War; that ſuch "a Prize would furniſh him with more "Money in one Day, than he could get "from his Parliament in a Year, and per-"haps ſo great a Prize, might put him "during the whole Courſe of the War, "in ſuch a Condition, as that he would "not ſtand in need of his Parliament; "and that he ought not to let ſlip ſuch "an Opportunity, to revenge the Wrongs "of the *Engliſh*, upon thoſe who wou'd "diſpute the Soveraignty of the Seas "with them. Theſe were excellent Motives to a Prince, who had no great Affection for Parliaments, as we may ſee by his conſenting to ſo ſhameful a Thing as ſhutting up his Exchequer; of which the Lord *Arlington* gives the following Account. *His Majeſty has reſolv'd this Week in Council, to reſume his Aſſignations, and poſſeſs himſelf with all his Current Revenue, poſtponing the Debts for a Twelvemonth, and paying only Six* per Cent. *of what thereof was taken up at Intereſt. This hath made a great Outcry in the City, and meeting with other*

ill

ill Humors, hath begot a great deal of Angry Diſcourſe; but we hope when thoſe who lent the Bankers Money, ſhall reflect better upon it, and ſee their Principal and Intereſt better ſecur'd, that they will appeaſe themſelves, and have no Cauſe to apprehend thoſe ill Conſequences they have foretold upon it. This Upright Miniſter tells his Correſpondent, the Money ſhould be all paid in a Twelve-month with Intereſt, which is not paid yet; and that they had a better Security for their Money in the King's Word, than the Goldſmith's Notes. This was the firſt Tory Spunge which was ever talk'd of; and till we have ſuch a Reign, and ſuch a Miniſtry, we can never have another. The ſame Miniſter wrote to my Lord *Sunderland* then in *Spain*, *His Majeſty having yeſterday Conven'd the Bankers before him at the Treaſury, after many kind and confident Aſſurances given them, that he would punctually ſatisfy his Debt to them, either out of what the Parliament ſhould give in the next Seſſion, or out of his own Revenue. He told them he likewiſe required of them, that without delay they ſhould take off the Stop they had made, of paying the Merchants their Current Caſh, which lay depoſited in their Hands, not to be lent to his Occaſions, or for Intereſt, but for the Security of keeping it; becauſe indeed the ſtop of this, was the Occaſion of the great Clamour.* Here again is his Majeſty's Royal Word to pay the Debt in due time, which was left to one of King *William*'s Parliaments to provide for, almoſt Thirty Years after. The King had ſtopt his Hands to the

Goldſmiths, but he will not have them ſtop theirs to the Merchants, for fear of the ill Conſequences of their Clamour. *The Merchants* ſays the ſame Lord, *not daring, or being able to Accept, or Pay any Bills of Exchange, drive their Trade Abroad, or clear their Ships at the Cuſtom-Houſe at Home.* This was known we find at Court, and yet every thing muſt be risk'd, rather than not fulfil our Engagements with the *French*, who were falling on the *Dutch* as the moſt Peſtilent of all the Northern Hereticks; the only Reaſon that prevail'd with the Emperor, not to protect them as it was his Intereſt. The Sum ſtop'd by the King in the Exchequer, was very conſiderable; the Bankers having lodg'd 1400000 *l.* of other Mens Mony there, to receive the Intereſt that was promis'd them. I never met with ſo baſe an Action in all the Hiſtories I ever read, and hope thoſe of the Ages to come, will have none to parallel it. It is ſaid to be the Work of the Lord *Clifford*, to whom this Nation would have been indebted for a much greater, had his Councils been Crown'd with Succeſs, I mean the reconciling us to the Church of *Rome*. It was he that put the King on an *Indulgence* for all *Religions*, that his own the *Popiſh*, might fare as well as others. What he thought of thoſe Matters, will be ſeen by a Converſation he held with a Man of Worth, with great freedom about that time; He told him, "The King if he would be firm to "himſelf, might ſettle what Religion he "pleas'd,

" pleas'd, and carry the Government to " what height he would; for if Men were " aſſured of the Liberty of their Conſci- " ences, and undiſturbed in their Pro- " perties, able and upright Judges made in " *Weſtminſter* Hall, to judge the Cauſes of " *Meum & Tuum*; and if on the other " hand, the Fort of *Tilbury* was finiſhed, " to bridle the City, the Fort of *Plymouth* " to ſecure the Weſt, and Arms for 20000 " in each of theſe, and in *Hull* for the " Northern Parts, with ſome addition, " which might be eaſily and undiſcernably " made to the Forces now on Foot, there " were none that would have either Will, " Opportunity or Power to reſiſt. *To this he added*, " He was ſo Sincere in the main- " tenance of Property, and Liberty of " Conſcience, that if he had his Will, tho' " he ſhould introduce a Biſhop of *Durham*, (*which was the Inſtance he then made, that See being then Vacant*) of another Religion, yet " he would not diſturb any of the Church " beſide, but ſuffer them to dye away; " and not by his Change, (how haſty ſo " ever he was in it) overthrow either of " thoſe Principles; and therefore he de- " ſired he might be thought an Honeſt " Man, as to his Part of the Declaration, " for he meant it really. As good a Catho- lick as he was, he would not turn out all the Biſhops at once, nor bring in Popery in leſs than twenty Years time, when they were all Dead. And *England* would have been mightily obig'd to him for his Pati- ence.

Theſe

Theſe two Notable Events were preceeded by a Merrier one, and that is the Story of the *Yacht*, which was ſent out purpoſely to Bully the *Dutch* Fleet, which then was going to Sea, expecting rather that King *Charles* ſhould joyn his with theirs, purſuant to the *Triple League*, than ſide with the *French*. But his *Britannick* Majeſty got over that Alliance, and the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, to oblige his Brother of *France*, who muſt ſurely have hid no Part of his Politicks from the Court of *England*; the Stile they us'd having ſo near a Reſemblance with that of *France*: For as *Lewis* XIV. could keep the Intereſt of Treaties without ſtanding to the Letter, ſo King *Charles* in his Declaration of War, has ſome Expreſſions which made all the World laugh, they were ſo Whimſical and Ridiculous. The Words were, *And whereas we are engaged by a Treaty, to ſupport the Peace made at* Aix la Chapelle, *we do finally declare, that notwithſtanding the Proſecution of this War, we will maintain the True Intent and Scope of the ſaid Treaty, and that in all the Alliances which we have, or ſhall make in the Progreſs of this War, we have and will take Care to preſerve the Ends thereof inviolable.*

His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was not at much Trouble, to draw up his Declaration of War. He only told the World he was *diſſatisfi'd with the* Dutch. A ſufficient Reaſon for him at that time, to put himſelf at the Head of a Royal Army, to maintain his Glory. But in his Old Age, he

he has receiv'd ſo much Juſt Cauſe of *Diſſatisfaction* from them, in the many Defeats his Royal Armies have met with from theirs and their Allies, that neither He nor his Succeſſors, will ever again preſume to defy all the World in ſuch Imperious Language; as if he was accountable neither to Juſtice nor Reaſon, but War and Peace depended on his Whimſies. He has had enough of it lately, and his begging Peace in almoſt all the Courts of *Europe*, is the Righteous Reward of his Pride, in Warring with them out of Wantonneſs.

King *Charles* was not on ſuch Terms at Home or Abroad, as to give himſelf thoſe Airs; and therefore ſome better Account of the Occaſion of his Rupture was expected. That of the *Flag* was the moſt *Popular*, becauſe every one in *England* wiſh'd we could gain that Point, as Confirming our Claim of the *Dominion of the Sea* But no Reaſonable Man could think the whole *Dutch* Navy, with their Admiral Aboard, ought to veil the Bonnet to a little *Engliſh* Boat, ſent out to Inſult them, as the manner of doing it made appear. Sir *William Temple*'s Lady was Aboard that *Yacht*, and he gives this Account of that Adventure, in a Letter to his Father Sir *John Temple*. " In *July* the " *Dutch* Fleet was Floating in the Chan- " nel, to ſhew, I ſuppoſe, that they were " in Condition to meet any of thoſe " Dangers they began to ſuſpect from " the Motions of *France*, and from our " late

" late Conduct. When the Captain of
" the *Yacht*, that was order'd to Convey
" my Wife over, took his leave at Court,
" he had Publick Orders given him, if he
" came in ſight of the *Dutch* Fleet, he
" ſhould Sail through them, and ſhoot at
" thoſe Ships that were next him, till he
" made them ſtrike Sail, or till they ſhot
" at him again, and then purſue his
" Courſe. He paſs'd it ſeems into *Holland*
" without ſeeing them, but as he return'd,
" he met the Fleet; and Sailing up to
" them, made ſeveral Shot at thoſe near
" him: Upon which they ſeem'd at leaſt,
" not to know what he meant, and to
" believe he might be in ſome Diſtreſs,
" and the Admiral ſent a Boat Aboard
" him to inquire. The Captain told them
" he had been ſent to bring back the
" *Engliſh* Ambaſſadreſs, with her Family
" from *Holland*; and had Orders to make
" the *Dutch* Fleet ſtrike wherever he met
" with them in the Channel. Upon this
" Meſſage by the Boat, Vice-Adiral *Ghent*
" came Aboard the *Yacht*, upon a Com-
" pliment to my Wife, which he per-
" form'd very handſomely; and after-
" wards deſir'd to ſpeak with the Captain,
" of whom he inquir'd the Reaſon of his
" Shooting, and receiving the ſame An-
" ſwer which had been given to the firſt
" Boat, he ſaid it was a Point they had
" receiv'd no Order in from their Maſters,
" and did not know how that Affair was
" agreed between his Majeſty and the
" States. But tho' it were ſettled, yet the

" Captain

" Captain could not pretend the Fleet and
" Admiral ſhould ſtrike to a *Yacht*, which
" was but a Pleaſure-Boat, or at leaſt
" ſerv'd only for *Paſſage*; and could not
" paſs for one of the King's Men of War.
" The Captain ſaid he had his Orders,
" and was bound to follow them. After
" *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain per-
" plex'd enough, came to my Wife, and
" deſir'd to know what ſhe pleas'd he
" ſhould do in that Caſe, which ſhe ſaw
" he did not like very well, and would
" be glad to get out of by her help. She
" told him he knew his Orders beſt, and
" what he was to do upon them, which
" ſhe left to him to follow, as he thought
" fit without any regard to her and her
" Children. He purſued his Courſe, and
" Landed her ſafe; after which, ſhe went
" to Court, and was very well receiv'd,
" and much commended for her Part, in
" what had paſs'd. And at Night Sir
" *Lionel Jenkins* was ſent to take her Ex-
" amination in Form. Upon the whole
" Matter of Fact, when I went next to
" the King's *Levee*, he began to ſpeak of
" my Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to com-
" mend it, as much as he blam'd the
" Captains; and ſaid ſhe had ſhew'd more
" Courage than he. And then falling up-
" on the *Dutch* Inſolence, I ſaid that how-
" ever Matters went, it muſt be confeſt
" that there was ſome Merit in my Fa-
" mily, ſince I had made the Alliance
" with *Holland*, and my Wife was like to
" have the Honour of making the War.

" The

" The King ſmiled as well as I, who had " found this the only way to turn the " Diſcourſe into good Humor, and ſo it " ended. Thus was *Chriſtendom* to be made a Scene of Slaughter and Blood, out of *Frolick* in one Prince, and *Ambition* in another. I ſhall not pretend to write the Hiſtory of that War, which has been ſo often written of; contenting my ſelf with ſome Parts of it, and Particulars that do not occur in other Relations.

The People of *England* were never in Earneſt in the *Dutch* War, after the Year 1665. And tho' the Parliament then Sitting, had ſo long been under Obligations to the Court, yet they were not very forward to aſſiſt his Majeſty in it; ſo that King *Charles* was forc'd to think of *Peace* ſooner than the *French* King, who in all the Offers he made the *Dutch*, never conſider'd his Majeſty's Intereſt; tho King *Charles* was ſo Complaiſant, as to declare he would make no Peace, unleſs his Brother of *France*, was ſatisfy'd in all his Demands; one of which was to ſet the *Romiſh* Religion and *Prieſts* on an equal Foot with the *Proteſtants* in *Holland*; and the former to be allow'd and maintain'd by the State as well as the latter. The *French* were at that time at the height of their Glory; above half of the Seven *Dutch* Provinces were in their Poſſeſſion, and the beſt Towns in *Flanders*. *Germany* could make no Stand againſt them, and *England* only had it in her Power to deliver *Europe* from approaching Slavery. Yet at that very

very Time, our Correſpondencies with *France* were cloſer than ever; and leaſt our Engagements againſt the *Dutch* were not ſtrong enough, Ambaſſadors are ſent to the *French* King at his Camp in the Heart of *Holland*, to make ſtronger. Theſe Ambaſſadors were the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Arlington*, and Lord *Hallifax*. The *Dutch* judging by the plain Reaſon of our own Intereſt in their Deliverance, welcom'd them, when they Landed as Perſons that were come on that Errand. *The Common Belief in* England *and* Holland, *ſays Sir* William Temple, *made the Subject of their Embaſſy to be our Jealouſy of the* French *Conqueſts going too faſt, whilſt ours were ſo Lame; and great hopes were rais'd in* Holland, *that it was to ſtop their Courſe or Extent, but theſe were ſoon daſh'd, by the Return of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd and faſten'd the Meaſures formerly taken between the Two Crowns. And the Ambaſſadors were indeed content as they paſt through* Holland, *that the firſt ſhould be thought; which gave Occacaſion for a very good Repartee of the Princeſs Dowager to the Duke of* Buckingham, *who viſited her as he paſt through the* Hague; *and talking much of their being good* Hollanders, *ſhe told him that was more than they ask'd, which was only that they ſhould be good* Engliſhmen; *he anſwer'd her they were not only ſo, but good* Dutchmen *too; that indeed they did not uſe* Holland *like a Miſtreſs, but they Lov'd her like a Wife; to which ſhe reply'd,* Vrayment je croy que vous nous aymez commevous aymez la Votre. *Truly I think you*

you Love us as you do yours. However theſe Plenipotentiaries were corrupted by *French* Gold, yet they were Men of Capacity, and not of that Size of Underſtanding, that their Character for Abilities might be as great a Shame to their Country, as that for Probity was to themſelves. They underſtood the True Intereſt of it, and it was generally hop'd they intended to proſecute it. Both *Engliſh* and *Dutch* flatter'd themſelves; they came purpoſely to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the *French* King's Arms. They had Conferences to this Purpoſe, with the States Deputies, to whom they us'd all Expreſſions imaginable, both of Kindneſs to *Holland*, and of Concernment and Trouble, to ſee the *French* ſo far advanc'd. They gave the *Dutch* Miniſters to underſtand, they would engage that the *French* King ſhould give up all his Conqueſts for *Maeſtricht*, or if he would not do it, they were empower'd to enter into New Meaſures with the States, to prevent the Deſtruction of the *Common-Wealth.* But they did not long keep in this Tone, for they had not been many Hours in the *French* Camp, which was not far off, before their Judgments were better inform'd, and the Terror of the *French* King's Greatneſs vaniſh'd. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Royal Eloquence or Bounty, ſo thoroughly convinc'd them of the Moderation and Juſtice of his Intentions, that they forgot all their Fair Promiſes, and Right Reaſoning at the *Hague*. *The increaſe of the* French *Power was not to be ſuſpected*

or

or fear'd, for they were Generous to abuſe it, to uſe the Words of an Author of thoſe Times. And the firſt Meſſage they ſent the Prince of *Orange*, after they had left him in ſo good an Humour, was, *That the States were to give Satisfaction to both Kings, joyntly, and that neither Crown cou'd, or wou'd Treat without it.* The Prince of *Orange* and the States, were infinitely ſurpriz'd at this change of Mind in the Plenipotentiaries. The Prince (who had full Power given him to Treat and Conclude with *England*,) that he might not be held longer in ſuſpence, anſwer'd the Plenipotentiaries, he deſir'd to know what would ſatisfie both Crowns; which was no leſs than the Sacrificing their Religion and Liberty. We have already obſerv'd, that the *French* King inſiſted on the Toleration of *Papiſts*, on their Admiſſion to Offices, and the Prieſts to Penſions, and that our Plenipotentiaries joyn'd with the *French* in all their Demands. Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, who, for favouring the State's Intereſt, in oppoſition to the *French*, was ſo far in Diſgrace at Court, that he was diſmiſt the *Committee for Foreign Affairs*, a thing never known to have happen'd to a Secretary of State, is ſaid to have written the following QUERIES on the Occaſion of the Plenipotentiaries being ſent to the *French* Camp.

1. *Whether they were ſent only to promote the* French *Conqueſts? And if not, how they could think it adviſable, by making the Peace impoſſible, to force the* Dutch *(as far as in*

them lay) to caſt themſelves into the Arms of the French *King, and ſubmit themſelves to his Domination?*

II. *Whether they can deny they knew the Joint Propoſals tendred to the* Dutch, *ſhould not be granted, ſince the* French *Demands alone had been unanimouſly rejected? And in that Caſe, how agreeable it was to the Intereſt of* England, *to make it impoſſible for the* Dutch *to give his Majeſty any Satisfaction.*

III. *Whether they had not received, as well from the Prince of* Orange, *as from the* States *Commiſſioners, all Publick Aſſurances of the infinite Deſire they had to ſee his Majeſty return to his former Amity with them, and of their readineſs to purchaſe it at any Rate, that the Condition they were in would bear? If ſo, how faithfully the Plenipotentiaries diſcharg'd their Truſt, in neglecting thoſe Offers, and entring into a New Engagement which was ſo Prejudicial to* England.

IV. *How far thoſe that were join'd in Commiſſion with them, did concur with them in their Judgement; and whether all thoſe Conſiderations, with many other, were not repreſented to them and urg'd by ſome, who had no other End but to ſerve their Maſter faithfully?*

V. *Whether it was for that Reaſon, they oppos'd ſo fiercely, my Lord Viſcount* Halifax *(who came a Day or two after them) his appearing and acting Jointly with them, though Commiſſionated in as full, and as ample manner as themſelves?*

VI. *Who*

VI. *Who were thoſe (after my Lord* Hallifax *could be kept out no longer) who went privately to the* French *Camp, under ſeveral Pretences, and had ſtill Negotiations of their own on Foot?*

VII. *Whether they had Orders to call the* French *King, the King of* France, *and to Name him ſtill before their Maſter, as well as to ſet in the firſt Place, the* French *Demands before that of his Majeſty; as all this was done in the Copies of Agreement they had made, and of both Kings Pretenſions which they ſent together to the Prince of* Orange, *by Sir* Gabriel Sylvirus?

VIII. And Laſtly, *How far their Inſtructions will juſtifie their Standing, in the behalf of the* French, *upon a Publick Exerciſe of the* Roman *Catholick Religion in the* United Provinces, *the Churches to be divided, and the* Romiſh *Churches maintain'd out of the Publick Revenue.*

By this we may ſee, that in the moſt deprav'd Times, there have always been *Engliſhmen* affectionately diſpos'd to the Publick Good, and the Cauſe of *Liberty*. And that even in that Reign, which none ſure will pretend to be the Soundeſt in Politicks, the Miniſtry was not intirely in the Intereſt of *France*, ſince one of the Secretaries ſtill maintain'd his Integrity, and would not ſuffer his Judgement to be impos'd on, by *French* Reaſons, or *French* Gold. It was this Love of his Country, that inclin'd him to the *Dutch*, and that Inclination of his, made the *French* Faction

his Enemies; ſhut him out of the Secret of their Correſpondence, and preſerv'd him from both the Gain and the Guilt of it. It will be impoſſible in an *Engliſh* Miniſtry, ever to meet with ſo General a Corruption, that not one of the Set ſhall be true to his Prince; not one of them ſee through, and oppoſe the Subtle and Dangerous Deſigns of *France*. There will always be found a faithful Patriot, to detect and prevent the Treacherous Practices of *French* Emiſſaries, whoſe Devices never ſucceeded long in this Kingdom, and ever ended in their Confuſion and Ruin. It will not be queſtion'd, but the Court of *England*, in 1672. was almoſt as much *French*, as that of *France*. The Character of the then Miniſtry, makes a diſmal Period in our Hiſtory, eſpecially in the following Reflections, which I met with in a Writer, their Contemporary, among many others of that kind. *How faithfully* ſays he, *have our Miniſters diſcharged their Truſt in theſe great Emergencies? How free have they been from Dependencies in Foreign Courts? How far have they been Jealous of their Reputation in that Particular? What great Care have they had of keeping up the Credit and the Reputation of the Triple League, and of their own Maſters with it?* He ſpeaks then of *their backwardneſs, (not to ſay worſe) in redreſſing, or at leaſt declaring againſt all the Wrongs done by the* French, *as well to his Majeſty himſelf, as to his Subjects. Their Induſtrious Endeavours, and various Stratagems, to engage his Majeſty and the Nation*

Nation in this War; their ingroſſing all Buſineſs of Concernment, and concealing the moſt important Debates and Reſolutions, from his Majeſty's Privy Council: Nay, their keeping it unſeaſonably from his great Council, and putting of their Seſſions, leaſt they might diſcover their Deſigns? Laſtly, the Carriage of ſome of them in Holland; *of the Care they took of the Intereſt both of* England *and of the Proteſtant Religion.* Thus it appears very plainly, that whenever *England* and *Holland* have been in Danger, they have met with ſuch as would Traffick with *France*, and barter the Publick Welfare of both Nations for her Piſtoles. The Intereſt of the Maritime Powers, to unite firmly againſt *France*, has been ſo obvious from the very Foundation of the Common-Wealth of the *United Provinces*, that it has been the firſt Principle in our Politicks, which none ever acted againſt, but he firſt Sacrifices his Honour and his Underſtanding, to his Pride and Avarice; and one may venture to affirm, there never was, and never will be, an *Engliſhman* and a Proteſtant, a Friend to *France*, but he muſt forego even Common Senſe and Common Honeſty. We have ſeen what Reſentment has been ſhewn by part of the Legiſlature lately; for that the *Dutch*, and others of our Allies, have not done what it is ſaid they Stipulated for in the late Glorious War: And what a Confederate King *Charles* had of *Lewis* XIV. in the War with the *Dutch*, is in the Memory of many. When he had brought us into that fatal Rupture, how

did he perform his Stipulation; how did he act with his Fleet, while with his Armies he Triumph'd over the *United Provinces*, which was then our Barrier, and always will be ſo not only to us, but the Liberties of *Europe*. It was manifeſt, ſays Mr. *Marvell*, in *one of his Tracts*, that in all theſe Wars, the *French* meant nothing leſs than really to aſſiſt us: "He had firſt "practis'd the ſame Art at Sea, when he "was in League with the *Hollanders* a- "gainſt us, his Navy having never done "them any Service, for his Buſineſs was "only to ſee us batter one another. And "now he was on the *Engliſh* ſide, he only "ſtudied to ſound our Seas, to ſpie our "Ports, to learn our Building, to con- "template our way of Fighting, to con- "ſume ours, and preſerve his own Navy, "to increaſe his Commerce; and to order "all ſo, that the Two Great Naval Pow- "ers of *Europe* being cruſh'd together, "he might remain ſole Arbitrator of the "Ocean, and by Conſequence Maſter of "all the Iſles and Continent. To which "Purpoſe, the Conſpirators furniſh'd him "with all poſſible Opportunities. There- "fore it was, that Monſieur *De Eſtree*, "tho' a Perſon otherwiſe, of Tryd "Courage and Prudence, yet never did "worſe than in the third and laſt Engage- "ment; and becauſe the Brave Monſieur "*De Martel* did better, and could not "endure a Thing that looked like Cow- "ardice or Treachery, tho' for the Service "of his Monarch, he Commanded him in;

"rated

‘ rated him, and at his Return Home he
“ was, as was then reported, diſcounte-
“ nanc'd, and diſmiſt from his Command,
“ for no other Crime, but his breaking
“ the *French* Meaſures, by adventuring
“ one of thoſe Sacred Ships, in the *Engliſh*,
“ or rather his own Maſters Quarrel. Let any one judge now, whether the late Greatneſs of *France*, proves the *French* to have the greater, or their Neighbours the Baſer Souls. Is it not a very Melancholly Reflection, that a *Corrupt Adminiſtration* ſhould ſuffer a Power to increaſe, ſo as not to be reduc'd by a *Wiſe and Happy one*, at the Expence of 150 Millions. How much has *England* paid ſince, for a Million or two dextrouſly diſtributed in King *Charles*'s Court, between the Maſter and his Servants? What a Bargain was made for their Poſterity? If faithleſs Miniſters were capable of Compaſſion, or any Publick Sentiment, they would abhor the Thoughts of ſelling that ſo baſely and cheaply, which muſt be recover'd at a thouſand times the Coſt, beſides the Expence of a Sea of Blood, too meanly rated by ſome Princes and their Miniſters. If ſuch a Miniſter would ſeriouſly ask himſelf what will the next Age, or perhaps this, pay for the 10000 Piſtoles that have been given me, He would tremble at the Horrid Commerce he has driven, and look on the Guilty Pieces with the ſame Horror, the Betrayer of his God lookt on the Price of his Treaſon. We can have no ſuch Fear for our ſelves, being happy in a Sovereign

that has all along ſhewn the moſt Generous Concern for the *Common Cauſe*; and in her Reign, *France* is reduc'd to a Condition of begging that Peace ſhe ſo Inſolently refus'd the *Dutch* forty Years ago. She would now rejoyce to receive it from thoſe Powers over whom ſhe has ſo long Triumph'd in her Medals and Spectacles. And it is our Happineſs, that ſhe has nothing left but her Bribery to ſave her from the Ruin ſhe threaten'd others with, or the Jealouſies ſhe may raiſe among her Enemies. As Poor as ſhe is, ſhe will find Money to work on the Frailty of thoſe that ſhe thinks are penetrable by it. But where ſuch are to be found, for my Part I cannot tell, and promiſe my ſelf from the Sincerity and Genius of the preſent Adminiſtration, that ſhe muſt deſpair of making any other uſe of the *Spaniſh* Mines in *Mexico* and *Peru*, than to pay her diſpirited Troops, and waſte on Cowardice, what ſhe got by Perjury and Surprize.

I never intended to write a Hiſtory of any particular Period, nor to enter into the Detail of any one Event; but rather to ſhew that it has been owing to our ſelves, that *France* has given us ſo much Fear and Trouble; and that the only way we have to prevent her doing it again, is to be hearty in our Alliances with the *United Provinces*; and all other Powers againſt her, to be inſenſible of her Flatteries and Promiſes, not to truſt her till ſhe has no Means of being falſe to Advantage; and to fly thoſe Practices which

made

made us ſo contemptible in paſt Reigns. I ſhall ſay no more of the War between us and the *Dutch*, and the Peace that follow'd it in 1674. than that we were no more Sincere to them in the latter, than the *French* were with us in the former; and that by our diſſembled Friendſhip, the States ſuffer'd as much as they had done by our Arms. They were amus'd by us, and kept in ſuſpence, while *Lewis* XIV. was carrying his Arms over the *Netherlands*, which hinder'd their putting their whole Strength to the War, in hopes of our finiſhing it by Mediation or Succours, which our Miniſters had not in their Thoughts. What Opinion the World had of King *Charles*'s Conduct, is as well known as what that was, and it would be impertinent to enlarge upon it, after the many Authors that have ſpoken of it. Wherefore I ſhall add only what Sir *William Temple* obſerves, in one of his Letters from *Bruſſels* in that Year. *The* Spaniards *interpret very ill, the Offers of his Majeſty's Mediation I made at the* Hague, *and believe it upon Concert with* France, *and to the end of inducing* Holland *to a ſeparate Peace from them. I cannot but reflect upon the ſtrange Difference I found in the Conſideration I left of his Majeſty in theſe Countries, and what I meet now, which is grounded upon the belief of his being ſo much in with* France, which our Court took no great Pains to conceal; for after they were put upon a Neceſſity of ending the *Dutch* War, by the unalterable and Univerſal Averſion of the People to it, yet

the

the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *Iriſh* Regiments, which were abroad in the *French* Service, were not only kept in their full Complement, but new Numbers of Soldiers daily Tranſported thither; making up in all, as is related, a conſtant Body of 10000 Men, who often turn'd the Fortune of Battel on the *French* ſide by their Valour. Yet all the while was King *Charles* acting the Part of a Mediator, after the Parliament had deſir'd him to make a Peace with *Holland*; and how the Miniſters manag'd Matters on that Occaſion, may be ſeen in a Book lately Printed, and mention'd before in this Treatiſe, call'd *Peace with* France, *and War with* Holland, ſuppos'd to be written by Mr. *Marvel*. He ſays, *Therefore they were reſolv'd by all their Influence and Induſtry, (tho' the Profit of the War did not wholly redound to the* Engliſh *Nation*; *and however, in caſe of Peace, it was our Intereſt, that if any of* France *ſhould be depreſſed to any Equality) to labour that by this Mediation,* France *might be the only Gainer*; *and having all quiet about him, might be at perfect Leiſure to attend their Project upon* England. *And one of theſe our Stateſmen being preſs'd, ſolv'd all Arguments to the contrary, with an Oraculous* French *Queſtion.* Faut il que toute ſe faſſe per Politique rien in par Amitie? *Muſt all things be done by Maxims, or Reaſon of State; nothing for Affection?* If ever Politician ſince *Ariſtotle*'s Days, thought of mixing Friendſhip with Politicks, or injuring his own Nation out of kindneſs to another, and at the ſame time pretended

to

to either Honeſty or Capacity, then let the *Cabal* be an Example to others, and teach them out of Good Nature, to give up their Liberties, Properties, Religion, and every thing worth giving. I hope we ſhall never live to ſee any *Engliſh* Adminiſtration have ſuch a Dearneſs for *France*, as to part with a Village to her out of Affection; for Love does not ſtop at little things only, and if ſhe can get ſo far into our Friendſhip, if ſhe ſo far bewiches us, as to make us fond of her after a Tyranny of a whole Climacterick; and if we give her any thing out of Affection, ſhe will ſoon wheedle us out of all. Such was her good Fortune, in K. *Charles*'s the Second's Reign, and the Reigns of all the Princes his Contemporaries, that the Miniſters every where were in Love with *French* Politicks, whether like other unlawful Amours it was Venal and Mercenary, I leave to others to judge. And whether otherwiſe any Reaſonable Creature, who might have enjoy'd the Liberty at Home, would have preferr'd the Maxims of a Prince, who firſt enſlav'd his own Subjects, and then endeavour'd by Fraud and Force, to make the reſt of *Europe* as wretched. It muſt be own'd he has a vaſt Genius for Rule, Cultivated by the longeſt Reign of any Prince in the *French* Hiſtory; That he has taken all the ways he could think of, to endear himſelf to his People, except the only Juſt One, to give them their Liberty: That he ſtruck in with their Natural Vain Humors, and making a falſe

Glory

Glory his Aim in all things, gave the Vileſt of his Slaves the Vanity to think, a ſhare of that Brightneſs reflected on them, which has ſupported and comforted them all in Slavery and Poverty. It muſt be own'd his Merit was greater in Politicks, than that of all the Miniſters of *Europe*, ſince he made Fools of them all. And whether he did it by Gold, or by Art, 'tis no matter; he did it, and that's ſufficient for a King. But when in better Times a Hero aroſe, whom he could not corrupt or deceive, when he was ſucceeded by a General, who by many Glorious Victories, and Wiſe Negotiations, baffled all his Councils and Armies, beat him out of the Field, and out of the Cabinet; and acquir'd an Immortal Name, by True Glory, in a Tenth Part of the Time of his Boaſted Reign, We cannot that conſider this *Deathleſs* Monarch, who was Deity'd by his Subjects, as a Man whom Fortune brought forth in a Lucky Period, for his Fame, when the World was full of Corruption, like *Rome*, might have been bought, if it could have found a Purchaſer. He was the faireſt Bidder, and no wonder he approach'd ſo near to the Univerſal Monarchy *Sweden* and *Denmark* had juſt commenc'd Slaves as well as *France*. The Empire was harriſs'd by the Infidels, and under the Dominion of a Prince, who would rather have done his Buſineſs by Prayers than Arms. *Spain* was Govern'd by a Child, *Portugal* by a Madman, *Holland* by a Faction, *England* by the Ladies, and

and *France* by a King, Inſtructed in the Arts, and Enamour'd of the Charms of Power, by the Leſſons and Example of a mighty Miniſter, who had the advantage of a Predeceſſor greater ſtill than himſelf, as well in the Art, as the deſire of Empire. Since all this is ſo well known, that what I have ſaid may be thought an impertinent Digreſſion, What Madneſs would it be, for ſuch as knowing by what Artifices that King roſe to ſo Exorbitant a Power, to give into his Snares again, and to be deluded by a Prince in his Doatage, and deſpair when they might probably get more by being Honeſt, than by ſerving him? Tho' we are our ſelves ſecure from the Fears of any ſuch Slavery and Treachery; yet if he ſhould continue in Poſſeſſion of the Mines of *Mexico*, and the Mountains of *Potoſi*, we may reaſonably fear Humane Nature will not be every where as perfect as 'tis with us; and that having more to give, he may acquire ſtill more than ever. It would be no hard, nor no tedious Work, to render thoſe Mines as uſeleſs to him, as they were to his Father. The Confederate Armies may next Year Forrage near his own Palace, and his Capital be the next City in *France* that pays them Contributions. There's nothing that can ſtop them, but Diſunion and Deceit, but Corruption and Craft. And ſince it is ſo Scandalous to be bubbled by one that has been ſo well beaten, 'tis to be hop'd the Allies will always have in view, for what they begun the War, and for what only they

they ſhould end it. It was to beget ſuch Reflections as theſe, that I lookt into the *Arcana* of the *French* King's Hiſtory, as far as I had Opportunities, without pretending to the Confidence of his Councils or particular Advantages to know them above others, that would be at the ſame trouble: But I knew there were not many who would make ſuch Inquiries, and yet might be pleas'd to have them ſet before them. The uſe they may be to Perſons of ſo much Curioſity, will compenſate for the Pains I have taken, and their own juſt Reflections will make the beſt Moral to this Hiſtory.

In looking over ſeveral Voluminous Hiſtories, and other Collections relating to my Subject, I met with ſome Curious Papers that are very *a propoſs* to the Matters now in Debate, both at the Preſs and in Converſation; ſuch as the *Principles of the Revolution*, the *Partition of the* Spaniſh *Monarchy*, and the like. And among others, I could not overlook a Famous *Intrigue*, manag'd by the late Duke of *Mountague* in *France*, which occaſion'd all the Earl of *Danby*'s Troubles when he loſt the Staff; and that Affair being now ſet in its full Light, I ſhall endeavour to Collect it as I find it in ſeveral Places, and leave it entire hereafter; eſpecially becauſe the Story is a particular Proof of what I have hitherto been advancing, of the Mony Correſpondence between *France* and *England*. For whoever was the Agent, it is allow'd by all, that the Fact is true. Of the Endear-

ment

ment between the Two Crowns, I ſhall ſpeak further, in talking of the Private League bètween King *James* and *Lewis* XIV, which I find atteſted, ſufficiently to convince a Man who has Liv'd in that Reign, or has carefully and impartially read the Hiſtory of it. But to preſerve alittle, the Order of Chronology, I ſhall continue this Treatiſe in the firſt Place, with the Story of the Famous Teſt of *Abhorrence*, an Inſtance of the Superlative Loyalty of the Reign in which it was to have been Enacted, in which will be ſeen what Oppoſition it met with even at that Time; and that the *Nine in Ten* did not fall intirely into Principles againſt the Revolution, till Two or Three and Twenty Years after their *Deliverance* by it, from *Popery* and *Slavery*. So long Time, did they take to arrive at ſuch a deteſtable Degree of Ingratitude, as to inſult the Memory of their Deliverer, and to unſay and undo all they have been doing and ſaying ever ſince. A Frenzy which is the harder to Cure, for that 'tis a Religious one; it being made a Damnable Sin now by the Condemn'd Doctor and his Brethren, to do what if we had not done in the laſt Eighty Eight, would have Damn'd us long ago, if there's Damnation in Popery. There will be no better way to give a true Idea of the Intention of that Teſt, than the Timing and Management of it which correſponds exactly to the late *Æra* of the Doctor's Tryal, and the Circumſtances preceding and attending it.

Mr.

Mr. *Marvel* in his *Growth of Popery*, relates the Matter thus, "The Conſpirators "began therefore, after fifteen Years, to "remember that there were ſuch a ſort "of Men in *England*, as the *Old Cavalier* "*Party*; and reckon'd that by how much "the more Generous, they were more "Credulous than others, and ſo more fit "to be again abuſed. Theſe were told, "that all was at Stake, Church and State; "That the Nation was running again "into *Forty One*; That this was the time "to refreſh their Ancient Merit, and re-"ceive the Recompence double of all their "Loyalty; and that hence forward the "*Cavaliers* ſhould have the Lottery of all "the Great or Small Offices in the King-"dom, and not ſo much as Sir *Joſeph* "*Williamſon* to have a ſhare in it. I wiſh the Reader would make the Compariſon between the Year 1675, and 1710. himſelf; for I am very little verſt in Parallels, and whatever my Imagination may furniſh me with for my ſelf, I ſhould certainly want Words to expreſs it; wherefore I ſhall be content with repeating what this Honeſt and Witty Author ſays on that Subject. "By this means, they indeed "deſigned to have rais'd a Civil War, "for which they had all along provided, "and to which they had on purpoſe, both "in *England* and *Scotland*, given all Pro-"vocation, if it would have been taken; "that ſo they might have a *Raſe Campaign* "of Religion, Government, and Propri-

"ety.

" ety. But there could not have been a
" greater Affront and Indignity offer'd to
" thoſe Gentlemen (and the beſt did ſo re-
" ſent it) than, whether theſe Hopes were
" real or not, to think them Men that might
" be hir'd to any baſe Action, or whether,
" as hitherto but imaginary, that by Erect-
" ing the late King's Statue, that whole
" Party might be rewarded in Effigie.
" While theſe things were upon the An-
" vil, the 10th of *November* was come for
" the Parliament's Sitting, but that was
" put off till the 13th of *April*, 1675.
" And in the mean time, which fell out
" moſt opportune for the Conſpirators,
" theſe Councils were matur'd, and ſome-
" thing further to be contriv'd, that was
" yet wanting: The Parliament accord-
" ingly meeting, and the Houſe of Lords,
" as well as that of the Commons, being
" in Deliberation of ſeveral wholeſome
" Laws, ſuch as the preſent State of the
" Nation required, the Great Deſign came
" out, in a Bill unexpectedly offer'd one
" Morning in the Houſe of Lords, where-
" by all ſuch as enjoy'd any Beneficial
" Office or Employment, Eccleſiaſtical,
" Civil or Military, to which was ad-
" ded Privy Councellours, Juſtices of the
" Peace; and Members of Parliament,
" were under a Penalty to take the Oath,
" and make the Declaration of Abhor-
" rence enſuing.

I A. B. *do declare, That it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms againſt the King, and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſioned by him in Purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion. And I do Swear that I will not at any time, endeavour the Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State.*

So help me GOD.

This Teſt was incerted in the *Five Mile Act* in *Oxford*, relating to Nonconformiſts, in the Year 1665. but was Vigorouſly oppos'd by the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Aſhley*, and others. It was ſeconded the ſame Seſſion, by another Bill in the Houſe of Commons, to have impos'd that Oath on the whole Nation, but it was thrown out, and that very remarkably; for Mr. *Peregrine Bertie* being newly Choſen, was that Morning introduc'd into the Houſe by his Brother, afterwards Earl of *Lindſey*, and Sir *Thomas Osborn*, now Duke of *L.* who all three gave their Votes againſt that Bill; and the Numbers were ſo even upon the Diviſion, that their Three Votes carried the Queſtion againſt it. This indeed is not the only Time his Grace the Duke of *Leeds* has exerted himſelf in the Cauſe of Liberty; what he did in Concert with the late Duke of *Devonſhire* in the North, at the Revolution, is but a later Inſtance of the Juſt Principle by which he

he acted, in giving his Negative to this Teſt, Four or Five and Twenty Years before. When it was brought into the Houſe in Seventy Five, many were the Brave and Noble Patriots, who declar'd againſt it, and their Names ought to Live with Honour, in the Grateful Remembrance of their Poſterity. I cannot agree with a certain Writer at that time, in his rude Expreſſions, ſpeaking of this Bill, and whence it came. How true his Remark is, I leave to the Judgement of others. *This State Maſter-Piece* ſays he, *was hatch'd (as almoſt all the Miſchiefs of the World had hitherto been) amongſt the Great Churchmen, and is a Project of ſeveral Years, but found not Miniſters bold enough to go through with it, until theſe New Ones, who wanting a better Bottom to ſupport them, betook themſelves wholly to this, to make a diſtinct Party from the reſt of the Nation, of High Epiſcopal Men, and the Old* Cavaliers, *who were to ſwallow the hopes of enjoying all the Power, and Offices of the Kingdom. They deſign'd alſo, to have the Government of the Church Sworn to as unalterable, and ſo tacitly own'd to be of Divine Right; which tho' inconſiſtent with the Oath of Supremacy, yet the Churchmen eaſily break through all Obligations whatſoever, to attain this Station. Then in requital to the Crown, they declare the Government Abſolute and Arbitrary, and allow Monarchy, as well as Epiſcopacy, to be* Jure Divino, *and not to be bounded or limited by Humane Laws.* And a little after he proceeds thus, " And now comes this Me-" morable Seſſion of *April* 13. 75, than

" which never any came with more Ex-
" pectation of the Court, or Dread and
" Apprehenſion of the People. The Officers
" Court-Lords, and Biſhops, were clearly
" the Major Vote in the Lord's Houſe;
" and they aſſur'd themſelves, to have
" the Commons as much at their diſpoſe,
" when they reckon'd the Number of the
" Courtiers, Officers, Penſioners, increas'd
" by the addition of the Church and *Ca-*
" *valier* Party; beſides the Addreſs they
" made to Men of the beſt Quality there,
" by hopes of Honour, great Employment,
" and ſuch Things as would take. In a
" Word, the *French* King's Miniſters, who
" are the great Chapmen of the World,
" did not out do ours at this time, &c.
When Laws are made, every one knows what Homage is due to them; a Paſſive Obedience is the leaſt of our Duty, but their Sanction is leſſen'd in the Minds of Honeſt and Thinking Men, when they know what ill Circumſtances attended their Birth, and that they were the Purchaſe of a Party. The Diſpute about the *Teſt of Abhorrence*, was a bold Struggle for Liberty; it would have gone farther than the Act, 12 *Car.* 11. which the laſt Addreſs from *Radnor*, declares to be the Meaſures of Obedience, tho' never was there greater Streſs laid upon a Law, than has been lately upon that. It has been the Ground Work of all the Arguments us'd by Men of Principles oppoſite to the Revolution. The Divinity of the late Doctrines, has not ſo Solid a Foundation in Scripture, as in this Act; and after all

that

that can be ſaid either Reaſonably or Learnedly for Reſiſtance in ſuch Caſes, as that of King *James*; all the Friends to the Abdication, are ſilenc'd by the Statute; which is not only urg'd as a Law, but as the General Senſe of the Nation. 'Twas this gave me a Curioſity to inquire into the Methods that were us'd in thoſe Times, to prepare us for Slavery; and the Reaſons given to juſtify them, are the ſame with which our Pulpits now ring. The Reverend Fathers of our Church, have ſince the Revolution, aton'd by their Zeal for the Publick Good, for all the Court Complaiſance of their Predeceſſors. The Prelates have in all Reigns, been the beſt Inſtances of the good or ill Diſpoſition of the Prince. Their Order therefore is not touch'd by the Demerit of ſuch as have diſhonour'd it. The Guilt returns to the Source from whence they themſelves came; and ſince in ill Times, every thing is corrupted, it cannot be expected that a Prince will then take much Care whom he ſets over our Teachers; ſince 'tis not his Intereſt that the People ſhould be well Taught. Good Princes have nothing more at Heart, than to ſupply the Church with good Governors. His late Majeſty, and our preſent Sovereign, have ſet a Bright Example in this, to their Succeſſors. And the Neglect of their Predeceſſors, in the Choice of Biſhops, was one of the greateſt Grievances their Subjects had to complain of. We ſhall from the above-mention'd Author, ſee how they manag'd themſelves with reſpect

to the *Teſt* I am now treating of. He goes on, " In this Seſſion, the Biſhops wholly " laid aſide their Zeal againſt Popery. " The Committee of the whole Houſe for " Religion, which the Country Lords had " cauſed to be ſet up again, by the Exam- " ple of the former Seſſions, could hardly " get at any time, a Day appointed for " their Sitting; and the main thing de- " ſign'd for a Bill Voted in the former " Seſſion, *The Marrying our Princes to none* " *but Proteſtants*, was rejected, and carried " in the Negative, by the Unanimous " Votes of the Biſhops Bench; the Lay- " Lords not underſtanding from how " excellent a Principle this proceeded, " commonly call'd them for that Reaſon, " the *Dead Weight*: And they really prov'd " ſo in the following Buſineſs; for the " third Day of this Seſſion, *this Bill of the* " *Teſt*, was brought into the Lord's Houſe " by the *Earl of L. L. C.* a Perſon of great " Quality, but in this impos'd upon; and " received its firſt Reading, and Appoint- " ment for the ſecond, without much " Oppoſition; the Country Lords being " deſirous to obſerve, what Weight they " put upon it, or how they deſign'd to " manage it." Thus far my Author, who Living at that Juncture, and being as plainly appears by his Writing, well acquainted both with Men and Things, is the beſt Authority I can be Govern'd by on this Occaſion. When this Bill, which would have reduc'd us to the miſerable Condition of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, and much

much about the ſame time, was read a ſecond Time, the Lord *Finch*, then Lord Keeper, recommended it to the Houſe in an Elaborate Speech, calling it *A Moderate Security to the Church and Crown, which no Honeſt Man could refuſe; and whoever did, would give great Suſpicion of Dangerous and Antimonarchial Principles.* Other Lords, who were for the Bill, declaim'd very much upon the *Rebellion of the Late Times*; Forty One, and Antimonarchial Principles, being the only Topicks which ſome Florid Preachers and Arguers have to go upon. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* oppos'd it with his uſual ſtrength of Reaſoning and Eloquence, and ſo did the Lords of the Country Party, earneſtly preſſing, *That the Bill might be laid aſide, and that they might not be engag'd in the Debate of it; or elſe, that the Freedom they ſhould be forc'd to uſe, in the neceſſary Defence of their Opinion, and the Preſerving their Laws, Rights and Liberties, which this Bill would overthrow, might not be miſconſtrued; for there were many things that muſt be ſpoken upon the Debate, both concerning Church and State, that it was well known they had no Mind to hear.* And when it was carried by Numbers to go upon it, there was a Proteſtation againſt it, in theſe Words.

WE *whoſe Names are under Written, being Peers of this Realm, do, according to our Rights, and the Ancient Uſage of Parliaments, declare, That the Queſtion having been put whether the Bill,* (Entitled an Act to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe from

Perſons diſaffected to the Government,) *doth ſo far intrench upon the Privileges of this Houſe, that it ought therefore to be caſt out, it being reſolv'd in the Negative. We do humbly conceive, that any Bill, which impoſeth an Oath upon the Peers with a Penalty, as this doth, that upon the Refuſal of that Oath, they ſhall be made uncapable of Sitting and Voting in this Houſe: As it is a thing unprecedented in former Times, ſo is it in our Humble Opinion, the higheſt Invaſion of the Liberties and Privileges of the Peerage, that poſſibly may be, and moſt Deſtructive of the Freedom which they ought to enjoy, as Members of Parliament, becauſe the Privileges of Sitting and Voting in Parliament, is an Honour they have by Birth, and a Right ſo Inherent in them, and inſeparable from them, as that nothing can take it away, but what by the Laws of the Land, muſt withal take away their Lives, and corrupt their Blood; upon which Ground, we do here enter our Diſſent from that Vote, and our Proteſtation againſt it.*

Buckingham,	Howard, E. of *Berks.*
Bridgewater,	Mohun,
Wincheſter,	Stamford,
Salisbury,	Halliſax,
Bedford,	De la Mer,
Dorſet,	Eure,
Aleſbury,	Shaftsbury,
Briſtol,	Clarendon,
Denbigh,	Grey Roll,
Pagitt,	Say *and* Seal,
Hollis,	Wharton.
Peter,	

Not-

Notwithſtanding this, the Great Officers and Biſhops call'd out for the Queſtion of referring the Bill to a Committee, which the Country Party oppos'd, in a Debate that laſted Five Days; and then it was Committed. Againſt which, the following Proteſtation was Entred.

THE *Queſtion being put, whether the Bill* (Entitled An Act to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government) *ſhould be Committed, it being carried in the Affirmative; and tho' after ſeveral Days Debate, we are in no meaſure ſatisfy'd, but ſtill apprehending that this Bill doth not only ſubvert the Privilege and Birth-Right of the Peers, by impoſing an Oath upon them, with the Penalty of loſing their Places in Parliament; but alſo, as we humbly conceive, ſtrike at the very Root of Government; it being neceſſary to all Governments, to have Freedom of Votes and Debates, in thoſe who have Power to alter and make Laws; and beſide, the expreſs Words of this Bill, obliging every Man to abjure all Endeavours to alter the Government in the Church, without regard to any thing that Rules of Prudence in the Government, or Chriſtian Compaſſion to Proteſtant Diſſenters, or the Neceſſity of Affairs at any time ſhall, or may require; Upon theſe Conſiderations, we humbly think it to be of Dangerous Conſequence, to have any Bill of this Nature, ſo much as Committed; and do Enter our Diſſent from that Vote, and Proteſtation againſt it.*

Buck-

Buckingham,	Clarendon,
Winton,	Stamford,
Salisbury,	Shaftsbury,
Denbigh,	Wharton,
Briſtol,	Mohun,
Howard *of Berks*,	Dela Mer.

The *Court Lords*, and the *Biſhops*, fell furiouſly on the *Proteſtators*, endeavouring not only ſevere Proceedings againſt their *Perſons*, but to have taken away the Liberty of *Proteſting* with *Reaſons*; which *Denzil*, Lord *Hollis*, defended with ſo great Ability and Learning, that all the oppoſite Party could get by a Debate of ſeveral Hours, was a Vote, *That the Reaſons given in the ſaid Proteſtation, did reflect upon the Honour of the Houſe, and were of Dangerous Conſequence.* There happen'd ſomething in this Debate, ſo very much to the Honour of my Lord *Hollis*, that I cannot paſs it by; for when it was at the Height, and the Proteſting Lords in danger of the *Tower*, he beg'd Leave of the Houſe, to put his Name to that *Proteſt*, and take his Fortune with thoſe Lords, becauſe his Sickneſs had forc'd him out of the Houſe the Day before, and not being at the *Queſtion*, he could not by the Rules of the Houſe, Sign it. We ſee what Affection the Promoters of this Teſt had to their own and their Fellow-Subjects Liberties. What Spirit the Sticklers for the Divine, Indefeazible, and unalienable Right of Princes, have always been animated by; how naturally ſuch Doctrines

Doctrines lead Men to every thing that is Slaviſh and Arbitrary: And had not the Fate of King *James* made it a Jeſt, for Churchmen to Preach as they do, the ſame Sanction would have been ſtill fix'd on them. The *Country Lords*, for ſo my Hiſtorian diſtinguiſhes the Parties, reſenting the Votes paſt againſt their Proteſtation, Entred another in theſe Words.

WHEREAS it is the undoubted Privilege of each Peer in Parliament, when a Queſtion is paſt contrary to his Vote and Judgement, to enter his Proteſtation againſt it; and that in Purſuance thereof, the Bill (Entitled An Act to prevent the Dangers which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the Government) *being conceiv'd by ſome Lords, to be of ſo Dangerous a Nature, as that it was not fit to receive the Countenance of a Commitment; thoſe Lords did Proteſt againſt the Commitment of the ſaid Bill, and the Houſe having taken Exception at ſome Expreſſions in their Proteſtation, thoſe Lords who were preſent at the Debate, did all of them ſeverally and voluntarily declare, That they had no Intention to reflect upon any Member, much leſs upon the whole Houſe; which is humbly conceived, was more than in Strictneſs did conſiſt with that Abſolute Freedom of Proteſting, which is inſeparable from every Member of this Houſe, and was done by them meerly out of their great Reſpect to the Houſe, and their earneſt Deſire to give all Satisfaction concerning themſelves, and the Clearneſs of their Intentions: Yet the Houſe not ſatisfied with this their Declaration, but*

but proceeding to a Vote, That the Reaſons given in the ſaid Proteſtation, do reflect upon the Honour of the Houſe, and are of Dangerous Conſequence; We whoſe Names are under written, conceiving our ſelves, and the whole Houſe of Peers, extreamly concerned, that this great Wound ſh uld be given (as we humbly apprehend, to ſo Eſſential a Privilege of the whole Peerage of this Realm, as that of Proteſting, do now according to our unqueſtionable Right) make uſe of the ſame Liberty to Enter this our Diſſent from, and Proteſtation againſt the ſaid Vote.

Bucks,	Say *and* Seal,
Winton,	Hallifax,
Bedford,	Audley,
Dorſet,	Fitzwater,
Salisbnry,	Eure,
Bridgwater,	Wharton,
Denbigh,	Mohun,
Berks,	Hollis,
Clarendon,	De la Mer,
Alesbury,	Grey Roll.
Shaftsbury,	

As little as this Piece of Hiſtory has relation to our preſent Times, when only the Bigotry or Intereſt of ſome Clergymen, has made thoſe Tenets as are contain'd in this Teſt, a Part of our Faith, and that on Penalty of Damnation, yet it is with Pleaſure we read of ſo many great Names vigorouſly withſtanding a Bill of ſuch Tendency, in a Free Nation. And it muſt give one a Horror of thoſe mad Proceedings in the Days of Anarchy, when an

an Aſſembly full of ſo many Illuſtrious Patriots as the Houſe of Peers, was Voted *Uſeleſs and Dangerous*. The Uſe and Safety of them, have Eminently appear'd in later Times, and there is not a good *Engliſh* Man, that does not reflect with the deepeſt Senſe, on the Noble Stand they have made, when more than once, the Deſigns of ill Men had taken Effect without it. It cannot be pretended, that theſe Lords were Schiſmaticks and Fanaticks. Were the Lords, *Dorſet*, *Berks*, *Clarendon*, *Aylesbury*, *Halliſax*, *Briſtol*, &c. charg'd with Schiſmatical or Antimonarchial Principles? Did not they carry the Prerogatives of the Church and Crown, as high as the Higheſt, and only refus'd to Sacrifice their Underſtandings and their Birthrights, to the advancing of them? Yet all who dare deny any Article of this *State Creed*, are now branded as Hereticks and Rebels, tho' I verily believe Her Majeſty has not in her Dominions, more Loyal, and more Affectionate Subjects, than thoſe who would as boldly Proteſt againſt ſuch Opinions, as the Lords did againſt the Bill that aſſerted them. There ſeems indeed to be more Complement to the Crown, in an Unlimited Obedience, but that Complement is paid by ſuch as attack it moſt in Eſſentials, and would deprive it of its *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy*; which ſhews us for what Reaſon it is, that an Abſolute Dominion is ſo furiouſly Preach'd up; and that 'tis not to center only in the Prince, but to be divided by the Prieſthood. If the

the Power of the Crown is allow'd to be boundleſs, the Church is at the ſame time declar'd to be Independant; and the Obedience of theſe Men, conſequently of no more Extent than they think fit, they being themſelves their own Judges; and, as they pretend, the State having no right to bring them to an Account. By this it is evident, however ſpecious their Pretences to Loyalty are, the Crown will always be ſafeſt in the Legal and Willing Obedience of its Subjects; and that its True Intereſt is never meant by thoſe that would extend its Empire beyond Reaſon. I cannot think this Digreſſion irregular, ſince it was for the ſake of ſuch Reflections, that I lookt ſo far back into our Hiſtory, as this Teſt, which has certainly as many Favourers now, as when it was firſt ſet on Foot. And all the Arguments us'd to juſtifie the *Unconditional*, Unlimited Obedience now ſo much in Vogue, only to affront the Revolution, on which the preſent Government is Founded, are the ſame made uſe of to procure this Oath of Abhorrence; and conſequently the Reaſons againſt it, will be the beſt Defence of thoſe Principles which brought about the Revolution, the Baſis of our Eſtabliſhments both in Church and State. I ſhall therefore repeat as many of the Arguments againſt this Teſt, as are to my Purpoſe, and will ſerve for the beſt Anſwer to all the Libellous Sermons and Pamphlets that have impos'd on the Publick.

The Lords againſt the Bill, after it was Com-

Committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, obtain'd Two Previous Votes, one *That no Oath ſhould be impos'd by any Bill, or otherwiſe, upon the Peers, with a Penalty, in caſe of refuſal, to loſe their Places or Votes in Parliament, or Liberty to Debate therein.* The other, *That there ſhould be nothing in this Bill, which ſhould extend to deprive either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any of their Members, of their juſt and Antient Freedom and Privilege, of Debating any Matter or Buſineſs which ſhall be propos'd or debated in either of the ſaid Houſes, or at any Conference or Committee of both, or either of the ſaid Houſes of Parliament, or touching the Repeal or Alteration of any Old, or preparing any New Laws, or the redreſſing any Publick Grievance, but that the ſaid Members of either of the ſaid Houſes, and the Aſſiſtants of the Houſe of Peers, and every of them, ſhall have the ſaid Freedom of Speech, and all other Privileges whatſoever, they had before the making of this Act.* However, upon the Report from the Committee, a Vote paſt, That all Perſons who have, or ſhall have Right to Sit and Vote in either Houſe of Parliament, ſhould have the Oath impos'd upon them. Againſt which, Proteſted the following Lords.

Bucks,	Denbigh,
Bedford,	Dorſet,
Winton,	Shaftbury,
Salisbury,	Wharton,
Berks	Eure,
Bridgwater,	De la Mer,
Stamford,	Paget,
Clarendon,	Mohun,

And

And their Reaſon for it, proves how much more favour was ſhewn to *Papiſts* than others; becauſe, ſay the Lords, *It had been offer'd, and inſiſted upon, that the* Proviſo *in the late Act*, Entituled, An Act for preventing Dangers that may happen from Popiſh Recuſants, *might be added to the Bill depending, whereby the Peerage of every Peer of this Realm, might be preſerv'd in this Bill, as fully as in the ſaid late Act.* Which was not admitted.

It was obſerv'd by the Earl of *Bullingbroke*, a Man of great Abilities, and Learning in the Laws, that tho' there was a *Proviſo, to preſerve the Freedom of Debates and Votes in Parliament, yet the Oath remain'd notwithſtanding that* Proviſo, upon all Men that ſhall take it, as a Prohibition, either by Speech, Writing, or addreſs to endeavour any Alteration in Religion, Church or State; even upon the Members of both Houſes, otherwiſe than as they ſpeak and Vote in open Parliaments or Committees. This was ſeconded by my Lord *De la Mer*, and the Lord *Shaftsbury* preſently drew up ſome Words for preſerving the ſame Rights, Privileges and Freedoms, which Men then enjoy'd by the Law. It was now that the Court-Lords and Biſhops, ſhew'd with the greateſt Plainneſs, what they aim'd at; inſomuch that the Duke of *Lauderdale*, tho' under the Load of Two Addreſſes, told the Committee, as did alſo the Lord Keeper and Lord Treaſurer, *They intended to prevent Caballing againſt the Government.* That none ſhould preſume to Converſe about

about State-Affairs but themſelves, out of the Two Houſes of Parliament, which would have reduc'd us in *England*, to the Terms of *French*, or *Turkiſh* Slavery, or perhaps worſe. And when they could not anſwer what was forcibly urg'd againſt them, 'tis ſaid they turn'd it off with fooliſh Jeſts, and awkard Raillery, and at laſt had recourſe to the Queſtion.

To prevent any more Proteſtations, the Houſe for the future, reported not the Votes of the Committee, and Parts of the Bill as they paſt them, but took the ſame Order as is obſerv'd in other Bills, not to report to the Houſe till they had gone thro' with it, and to report all the Amendments together. The Bill being read over by the Committee, the Lord *Halliſax* ſpoke admirably againſt Oaths of any kind. *That as there really was no Security to any State by Oaths, ſo alſo no Private Perſon, much leſs Stateſmen, would ever order his Affairs as relying on it; no Man would ever Sleep with open Doors, or unlockt up Treaſure, ſhould all the Towns be Sworn not to Rob: So that the uſe of multiplying Oaths, had been moſt commonly to exclude, or diſturb ſome Honeſt Conſcientious Men, who would never have prejudiced the Government.* He inſiſted, *That the Oath impos'd by the Bill, contained Three Clauſes; The Two former Aſſertory, and the laſt Promiſary; and that it was worthy the Conſideration of the Biſhops, whether Aſſertory Oaths which were properly appointed, to give Teſtimony of a Matter of Fact, of which a Man is capable to be fully aſſur'd by the Evidence of his Senſe, be law-*

fully to be made uſe of, to confirm or invalidate Doctrinal Propoſitions; and whether that Legiſlative Power, which impoſes ſuch an Oath, doth not neceſſarily aſſume to it ſelf an Infallibility? And as for Promiſary Oaths, it was deſir'd that thoſe Learned Prelates would conſider the Opinion of Grotius, De Jure Belli & Pacis, *who ſeems to make it plain, that thoſe kind of Oaths are forbidden by our Saviour, and whether it would not become the Fathers of our Church, when they have well weighed the Place he Quotes out of the New Teſtament, to be more tender in multiplying Oaths, than hitherto the Great Men of the Church have been?* But whatever this Lord, and others could ſay to the contrary, the Bs. ſays my Author, carry'd the Point, and an Oath was order'd by the Major Vote.

The next part of the Debate was about Members of Parliament, *&c.* and the Previous Votes were urg'd in their behalf. But the Lord Keeper, who mov'd to have them incerted, ſaid with equal Aſſurance and Eloquence, The Houſe was Maſter of their own Orders, and the Interpretation of them.

When theſe Words, I *A. B. Do declare that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King*, came to be conſider'd, the Lords againſt the Bill, urg'd, that it might introduce a great Change of the Government, to oblige all the Men in great Truſt in *England*, to declare that exact Boundary, and Extent of the Oath of Allegiance, and enforce ſome things to be ſtated, that are much better in-

involv'd in Generals. There is a Law of 25 *Edward* III. That Arms ſhall not be taken up againſt the King, and that it is Treaſon to do ſo, and it is a very juſt and reaſonable Law. But it is an Idle Queſtion at beſt, to ask whether Arms in any Caſe, can be taken up againſt a Lawful Prince, becauſe it neceſſarily brings in the Debate in every Man's Mind, how there can be a Diſtinction then left, between Abſolute and Bounded Monarchies, if Monarchs have only the Fear of God, and no Fear of *Humane Reſiſtance* to reſtrain them. The Arguments are of that length, that I can only give the *Reader* a Hint of them. The Strength of them were ſuch, that the Court, and the Court-Lords, took Care to have them burnt as ſoon as made Publick. We have been lately told, that the Word *Reſiſtance* was never heard of till within theſe very few Years, except in the Days of Rebellion and Anarchy. This has been ſaid in the Pulpit, and in a Preſence, which, if the Preacher had not the Fear of God before him, one would think a nearer Terror might have touch'd him, and made him not dare to aſſert ſuch a flagrant Falſity in ſuch an Auditory. Can any thing be more Poſitive than this Evidence, let the World determine; and of that Cauſe alſo, which wants ſuch Wicked Supports.

The next thing in Debate, was that part of the Teſt, from whence it took the Name of the *Oath of Abhorrency*, And, *That I do abhor that Treacherous Poſition of taking Arms*

by his Authority, againſt his Perſon. To which it was objected, that the Poſition as here laid down, is Univerſal; and yet in moſt Caſes, it is not to be *abhorred* by Honeſt or Wiſe Men. For there is but one Caſe, and that never like to happen again, where this Poſition is like to be *Traiterous*, and that is the Caſe of the Long Parliament, made perpetual by the King's own Act, by which the Government was perfectly alter'd, and made inconſiſtent with it ſelf. Then Inſtances were given, wherein this Poſition was ſo far from being *Traiterous*, that it was both Neceſſary and a Duty. As in the Two Caſes of *Henry* VI. of *England*, and *Charles* VI. of *France*, who were in the Hands of their Enemies, and not to have taken Arms againſt thoſe that had aſſum'd their Authority, and had their Perſons for their Warrant, would certainly have been a Breach of their Allegiance. In theſe and the like Caſes, it was not juſtify'd, but that the ſtrict Letter of the Law might be otherwiſe Conſtrued; and the Old Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſaid, *That to take up Arms in ſuch Caſes, is not againſt, but for the Perſon of the King.* In which his Lordſhip did not ſeem to be entirely of the ſame Mind with the Lord Keeper; for to teſtifie his own *Abhorrency*, he had this Expreſſion in a Speech of his, *Away with that ill meant Diſtinction, between Natural and Politique Capacities.* To which Mr. *Marvel* thus replies, "He is too well read, to be "Ignorant, that without that Diſtinction, "there would be no Law, nor Reaſon of

Law

" Law left in *England*, to which End it " was; and to put all out of Doubt, that " this Teſt requires to declare Men's " *Abhorrency*, as of a *Traiterous Poſition*, to " take Arms againſt thoſe that are Com- " miſſion'd by him, in purſuance of ſuch " Commiſſion. And yet neither the Te- " nor or Rule of any ſuch Commiſſion " ſpecified, nor the Qualification of thoſe " that ſhall be Arm'd with ſuch Commiſ- " ſions, expreſt or limited. Never was " ſo much Senſe contain'd in ſo few Words. " No Conveyancer could in more Com- " pendious or binding Terms, have drawn " a *Diſſettlement* of the whole Birthright of " *England*." This naturally brings me to the Third Part of the Teſt, *Or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſionated by him.* It was obſerv'd upon this, that if any King hereafter, ſhould contrary to the *Petition of Right*, Demand, or Levy Mony by Privy Seal or otherwiſe, and cauſe Soldiers to enter and deſtrain for ſuch illegal Taxes; in ſuch a Caſe, any Man might defend his Houſe againſt them, and yet this is againſt the Words of the Declaration, made in this Teſt. The Lord Keeper ſaid theſe were *Remote Inſtances*: To whom the Earl of *Salisbury* excellently reply'd, *That they would not hereafter prove ſo, when this Declaration had made the Practice of them juſtifiable. Here the Mask was plainly pluckt off*, as the Author from whom I have taken a good part of theſe Arguments, ſays; and Arbitrary Government appear'd bareſac'd, a Standing Army to be Eſtabliſhed by Act

of Parliament; for it was ſaid by ſeveral of the Lords, *That if whatever is by the Kings Commiſſion, be not oppos'd by the King's Authority, then a Standing Army is Law, whenever the King pleaſes*; and yet the King's Commiſſion was never thought ſufficient to Protect, or Juſtify any Man, where it is againſt his Authority, which is the Law. This allow'd, alters the whole Law of *England*, in the moſt Eſſential and Fundamental Parts of it, and makes the whole Law of Property become Arbitrary, and without Effect, whenever the King pleaſes. It is to be wiſh'd, that all good *Engliſh-Men* would ſeriouſly conſider who were the Men, and what their Principles, that would have reduc'd us to the Condition of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, to have depended on the *Will of the Prince*; for then they would not now hearken as they do, to the ſame ſort of Men, and countenance the ſame Opinions, which would with this Teſt have made the Monarchy of *England* Arbitrary and Abſolute. Indeed, the beſt Bulwark we have now againſt it, is the Diſpoſition of our Sovereign, whoſe Royal Pleaſure Centers in the Law, and whom, not the Perſwaſions nor Flatteries of ill Men can ever tempt to Invade it. One cannot have a better Notion of the Fatal Conſequences that muſt have attended this Teſt, if it had prevail'd, than in what *Andrew Marvel* writes of it. *For as to the Commiſſion, if it be to take away any Man's Eſtate, or his Life by Force, yet it is the King's Commiſſion. Or, if the Perſon Commiſſionate, be under never ſo*

many

many Diſabilities by Acts of Parliament, yet his taking this Oath, removes all thoſe Incapacities, or his Commiſſion makes it not diſputable. But if a Man ſtand upon his Defence, a good Judge for the Purpoſe, finding that the Poſition is Traiterous, will declare that by this Law, he is to be Executed for Treaſon. As ſtrong as the Court Party was in the Houſe, ſuch was the Power of Truth, they could not carry this abominable Declaration, without adding, *Againſt thoſe that are Commiſſioned by him according to Law, in Time of Rebellion and War.*

We come now to what will fully evidence the Deſigns of the Clergy, in theſe and other Times, by ſuch unwarrantable Complacency to the Court. The Church Government muſt not on any Account be alter'd, no more than the State. *I do Swear that I will not at any Time, endeavour the Alteration of the Government, in Church or State.* Againſt which, the Objection lay moſt plain and ſtrong, at the firſt Entrance of the Oath. That there was no Care taken of the Doctrine, but only the Diſcipline of the Church. The *Papiſts* need not ſcruple the taking this Oath, for Epiſcopacy remains in its full Luſtre, tho' the Popiſh Religion was introduc'd. But the *King's Supremacy* is juſtled aſide by this Oath, and makes better room for an Eccleſiaſtical One; inſomuch that the Party were forc'd immediately to have it thus Worded, *I will not endeavour to alter the Proteſtant Religion, or the Government, either of Church or State.* And they valu'd themſelves ſo much

much on their Condeſcention in this Mater, that they now call'd their Teſt, *A Security for the Proteſtant Religion*. The Author I am ſo much indebted to, expreſſes himſelf on this Occaſion, " But the Country Lords " wonder'd at their Confidence in this, " ſince they had never thought of it be- " fore, and had been by *pure ſhame*, com- " pell'd to this Addition. For it was not unknown to them, that ſome of the *Biſhops* themſelves had told ſome *Roman Catholick Lords* of the Houſe, *That Care had been taken, that it might be ſuch an Oath, as might not bear upon them.* There was a great Struggle againſt the Words, *Endeavour to alter.*

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* ſaid, *It is a far different thing to believe, or to be fully perſwaded of the Truth of the Doctrine of our Church, and to Swear never to* Endeavour to alter, *which laſt muſt be utterly unlawful, unleſs you place an Infallibity either in the Church, or your ſelf, you being otherwiſe oblig'd to alter, whenever a clearer or better Light comes to you.* And he deſir'd leave to ask, *Where are the* Boundaries, *or where ſhall we find how much is meant by the* Proteſtant Religion ?

I muſt now make uſe of the Words of my Author, and he tells us in Anſwer to this, " The Lord Keeper thinking he had got an " Advantage, *deſires it might not be told in* " Gath, *nor Publiſh'd in the Streets of* Aska- " lon, *That a Lord of ſo great Parts and Emi-* " *nence, and profeſſing himſelf for the Church* " *of* England, *ſhould not know what is meant* " *by the Proteſtant Religion.* This was ſecon-

" ded

" ded with great Pleaſantneſs, by divers of " the Lords the Biſhops, but the Biſhop " of *Wincheſter*, and ſome others of them, " were pleas'd to condeſcend to Inſtruct " that Lord, *That the Proteſtant Religion was* " *comprehended in the* Thirty Nine Articles, " *The* Liturgy, *The* Catechiſm, *The* Homi- " lies, and *The Canons.* Thus were all the Proteſtant Churches of *Europe*, charg'd at once with *Popery* and *Schiſm*, unleſs they Subſcrib'd to the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the Church of *England*. But I ſhall not trouble the Reader with my Reflections on this Head, ſince we have much better in the ſame Memoirs.

To this the Earl of *Shaftsbury* reply'd, *That he beg'd ſo much Charity of them, to believe that he knew the Proteſtant Religion ſo well, and was ſo confirm'd in it, that he hop'd he ſhould* Burn *for the Witneſs of it, if Providence ſhould call him to it. But he might perhaps think ſome things not* Neceſſary, *which they accounted* Eſſential. *Nay, he might think ſome Things not true, or agreeable to Scripture, which they might call Doctrines of the Church. Beſides, when he was to Swear never to* Endeavour to alter, *it was certainly neceſſary to know how far the Extent of this Oath was; but ſince they had told him that the Proteſtant Religion was in thoſe Five Tracts, he had ſtill Power to ask whether they meant thoſe whole Tracts were the Proteſtant Religion, or only that the Proteſtant Religion was contain'd in all theſe, but that every Part of theſe was not the Proteſtant Religion?* If they meant the former of theſe, then he was extreamly in the dark, to find the Doctrine

Doctrine of *Predeſtination* in the XVIIIth and XVIIth Articles, *to be own'd by ſo few*, great Doctors *of the* Church, *and to find the* XIXth Article *to define the* Church, *directly as the* Independants *do. Beſides, the* XXth Article, *Stating the Authority of the* Church, *is very dark; and either contradicts it ſelf, or ſays nothing, or what is contrary to the known Laws of the Land.* Further, *Several other things in the* XXXIX Articles, *have been Preach'd and Writ againſt, by Men of great Favour, Power and Preferment in the* Church. *He humbly conceiv'd the* Liturgy *was not ſo Sacred, being made by Man the other Day, and thought to be more differing from the Diſſenting* Proteſtants, *and leſs eaſie to be complied with; upon the advantage of a* Pretence *well known to us all,* of making Alterations as might the better Unite us: *Inſtead of which, there's ſcarce one* Alteration *but widens the Breach, and no* Ordination *allowed by it here, (as it now ſtands laſt Reformed in the* Act of Uniformity) *but what is* Epiſcopal; *ſo that a* Popiſh *Prieſt is capable when converted, of any Church Preferment, without* Re-Ordination; *but no* Proteſtant *Miniſter, not* Epiſcopally *Ordain'd,* but is requir'd to be Re-ordain'd; *as much as in us lies,* Unchurching all the Foreign Proteſtants that have not Biſhops, *tho' the contrary was both allow'd and practis'd, from the beginning of the* Reformation, *to the time of that Act; and ſeveral* Biſhops *made of ſuch, as were never Ordain'd* Prieſts *by* Biſhops; *and he thought to* Endeavour to alter, *and Reſtore the* Liturgy, *to what it was in Queen* Elizabeth's Days, *might conſiſt with his*

his being a very good Proteſtant. *As to the* Ca echiſm, *he really thought it might be mended, and durſt declare to them, it was not well, that there was not a better made. For the* Homilies *he believ'd there might be a better Book made*; *and* Hom. III. Of Repairing and keeping Clean of Churches, *might be omitted. What is yet ſtranger than all this, the* Canons *of our* Church, *are directly the* Old Popiſh Canons, *which are ſtill in Force, and no other*; *as will appear, if you turn to the* Stat. 25 Hen. cap. 10. *confirm'd and receiv'd by* 1 Eliz. *where all thoſe* Canons *are Eſtabliſh'd, till an Alteration ſhould be made by the King, in purſuance of that Act, which was attempted by* Edward VI. *but not perfected, and let alone ever ſince*; *for what Reaſon, the Lords the* Biſhops, *could beſt tell*; *and it was very hard, to be oblig'd by Oath,* Not to endeavour to alter, *either the* Engliſh *Common-Prayer Book, or the* Canon *of the Maſs.* The Reaſons of this Lord, and others that ſpoke to the ſame thing, were ſo Cogent, that the Houſe ſeem'd convinc'd of the Neceſſity of *an Expedient.*

The Lord *Wharton* offer'd as a Cure to the whole Oath, and what might make it paſs in all the Three Parts of it, to add theſe Words at the latter end, *As the ſame is, or ſhall be Eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament.* But to uſe the before mentioned Authors own Expreſſion, *This was not endur'd at all.* The Lord *Grey* of *Rolſtone*, offer'd another Expedient, which was the Addition of theſe Words, by *Force or Fraud*, and then it would have run thus, *I do Swear not to endeavour*

endeavour by Force or Fraud, to alter. This was alſo a Cure that would have paſt the whole Oath, and ſeem'd as if it would have carried the whole Houſe, the Duke of *York*, and Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, both ſeconding it; but the *Lord Treaſurer*, according to the Memoirs I have made uſe of, *who had privately before conſented to it, ſpeaking againſt it, gave the Word and Sign to that Party; and it being put to the Queſtion, the Major Vote anſwer'd all Arguments.* And they were ſo fluſht by their Majority, that without conſidering the remainder of the Teſt, they would have then put it to the Queſtion entire, which was oppos'd by the Lord *Mohun*, and after by ſo great a Diſorder in the Houſe, as ever was ſeen there; proceeding "*ſays my Author*, from the "Rage thoſe unreaſonable Practices had "caus'd in the Country Lords. They "ſtanding up in a Body, and crying out "*Adjourn*, with ſo loud a continu'd Voice, "that when Silence was obtain'd, Fear "did what Reaſon could not do, and put "off the Queſtion for the whole Teſt. Now comes the Conſideration of the latter Part of the Oath, *Nor the Government in Church or State.* And what a Correſpondence there is between thoſe of the Prieſthood, that have of late aſſerted their *Independency*, and on all Occaſions prefer'd their Intereſts to that of the Crown, and the Biſhops who were ſo Zealous for this Bill, will appear by the Marſhalling the *Church and State*, in this Teſt, wherein the Church came firſt to be conſider'd. The Lords a-

gainſt

gainſt the Bill Objected, *That it was not agreeable to the King's Crown and Dignity, to have his Subjects Sworn to the Government of the Church, equally as to himſelf*; That it ought to be well underſtood, before ſuch an Act paſt, *What the Government of the Church was*, and what the Boundaries, whether it derives no Power nor Authority, nor the Exerciſe of any Power, Authority or Function, but from the *King as Head of the Church*, and from GOD, as through him all his other Officers do; otherwiſe there would be *Imperium* in *Imperio*, and Two diſtinct Supream Powers, inconſiſtent with each other in the ſame Place, and ever the ſame Perſons. The Memoirs tell us, " The Biſhops alledg'd, that the " Prieſthood, their Power and Authorities, " were deriv'd immediately from God, " but that the Licence of Exerciſing that " Authority and Power in any Country, " is deriv'd from the Civil Magiſtrate. " To which it was reply'd, *That it was a* " *Dangerous thing to ſecure by Oath an Act* " *of Parliament, thoſe in the Exerciſe of an* " *Authority and Power in the King's Country,* " *and over his Subjects*; *which being receiv'd* " *from Chriſt himſelf, cannot be alter'd or li-* " *mited by the King's Law*; and that this " was directly to ſet the Mitre above the " Crown. It was further offer'd, that this " Oath was the greateſt Attempt that " had been made againſt the King's Supre- " macy, ſince the Reformation. For the " King in Parliament, may alter, dimi- " niſh, enlarge, or take away any Biſho-

" prick.

" prick. He may take any Part of a Dio-
" ceſs, or a whole Dioceſs, and put them
" under Deans, or other Perſons; for if
" this be not Lawful but that *Epiſcopacy*
" ſhould be *Jure Divino*, the maintaining
" the Government as it is now, is unlaw-
" ful; ſo that at beſt, that Government
" wants Alteration, that is ſo imperfectly
" ſettled.

What the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* aſſerted of the Antiquity of *Epiſcopacy*, and the Anſwer to it, I ſhall not repeat; it being a very ungrateful Task, to enter into a Debate, which reflects the leaſt on that Order, for which all good Subjects have ſo high a Veneration, and to which the *Britiſh* Conſtitution has been ſo much indebted ſince the Revolution. The Glory the Reverend Fathers of our Church, have ſo juſtly acquir'd by their Zeal in the Cauſe of Religion and Liberty, makes it invidious to look back into the Actions of thoſe, who for Worldly Ends had too little Concern for both; and what I ſhall quote out of the Papers before me, is not at all intended to bear hard on any; but the Memory of thoſe, who by their Complacency to the Times, had loſt the Eſteem due to their Character. For which no Man can have a greater Reſpect than my ſelf; for no Church was happier in her Spiritual Rulers, than is now the *Church of* England.

The Lord *Wharton*, upon the *Biſhops* Claim to a Divine Right, ask'd, as the Author calls it, *a very hard Queſtion*, Whether

ther they then did not Claim alſo, *A Power of Excommunicating their Prince?* The Prelates being preſs'd for an Anſwer, ſaid *They never had done it.* And the Lord *Halifax* reply'd, *That that might well be, for ſince the Reformation, they had hitherto had too great a Dependance on the Crown, to venture on that, or any other Offence to it.*

As to the other Clauſe about the *State*, it was objected, it would overthrow all Parliaments, and left them capable of nothing but giving Money, For what is the Buſineſs of Parliaments, but the Alteration, either by adding, or taking away ſome Part of the Government, either in Church or State? And every New Act of Parliament is an Alteration: And what kind of Government in Church or State, muſt that be, which I muſt Swear upon no Alteration of Time, Emergency of Affairs, and Variation of Humane Things, *Never to endeavour to alter?* Would it not be requiſite, that ſuch a Government ſhould be given by God himſelf, and that with all the Ceremony of Thunder, Lightning, and viſible Appearance to the whole People, as the Law was given to the *Jews.* ——— I was ſatisfy'd upon reading theſe, and other Arguments of the ſame Nature, that they would have more Authority than the Intereſted or Venal Arguments of the Modern Preſs or Pulpit; and the Place they were ſpoken in, the Perſons they were addreſt to, adds a Sanction to them, which it would be great Aſſurance in any one to queſtion; it being a Struggle of the Peers of

England,

England, for that Freedom which we were forc'd a few Years after, to uſe very extraordinary Methods to recover. The Lord *Stafford* himſelf, whoſe Fate afterwards is ſo well known, as great a Bigot as he was to Popery, tho' he had till now been for the Bills, yet ſuch was the Strength of the Reaſons againſt it, with reſpect to this Part of the Teſt, that he freely declar'd, *There ought to be an Addition to the Oath, for preſerving the Freedom of Debates in Parliament*, which was alſo ſtrongly ſupported by the Earls of *Bridgewater*, *Denbigh*, *Clarendon* and *Alesbury*; and the oppoſite Party was in the end oblig'd to agree, that the Oath ſhould run thus.

I A. B. *do Swear, that I will not endeavour to alter the Proteſtant Religion, now by Law Eſtabliſh'd, in the Church of* England, *nor the Government of the Kingdom in Church or State, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd*, &c.

And a *Proviſo* for Freedom of Debates in Parliament was mention'd, which breaking the main Deſign of the Bill, from thence forward it was manag'd with leſs Warmth by the Favourers of it. The Marquiſs of *Wincheſter*, before the finiſhing of the Oath, tender'd an Additional one, which would have been very ſerviceable to the Publick, if it could have been paſt.

I do

I Do Swear that I will never by Threats, Injunctions, Promiſes, Advantages, or Invitation by, or from any Perſon whatſoever, nor from the Hopes or Proſpect of any Gift, Place, Office, or Benefit whatſoever, give my Vote, other than according to my Opinion and Conſcience, as I ſhall be truly and really perſwaded, upon the Debate of any Buſineſs in Parliament.

So help me GOD.

For this was intended only to be taken by the Members of both Houſes.

To this the Lord Keeper ſeem'd very averſe, and declar'd in a fine Speech, *It was an uſeleſs Oath, for all Gifts, Places and Offices, were likelieſt to come from the King, and no Member of Parliament in either Houſe, could do too much for the King, or be too much of his ſide; and that Men might lawfully and worthily have in their Proſpect, ſuch Offices or Benefits from him.* When this was Doctrine taught in ſo Auguſt an Aſſembly, is it not wonderful that we have ſo long preſerv'd our Liberties; but there was a Noble Band of Peers that ſtood in the Breach, and defended their Birth-rights with equal Courage and Reaſon. Theſe reply'd, *That Men had been, might, and were likely to be in either Houſe, too much for the King as they call'd it, and that whoever endeav ur'd to give more Power to the King, than the Law and Conſtitution of the Government had given, eſpecially if it tended to the introducing an Abſolute and Arbi-*

trary Government, might juſtly be ſaid to do too much for the King, and to be corrupted in his Judgment, by the Proſpect of Advantages and Rewards; tho' when it is conſider'd, that every Deviation of the Crown, towards Abſolute Power, leſſens the King in the Love and Affection of his People, making him become leſs their Intereſt; a Wiſe Prince will not think it a Service done him. Which modeſt and juſt Reaſoning, ſhews what little need Truth has of any Authority but its own to ſupport it; and how vain the contrary will prove in the End, tho' back'd by Power, which may humble, but will never convince. The remaining Part of the Debate, related to Lords and Commons. As to the former, it was ſaid they were ſubjected by this Teſt, "to the meaneſt Condition of Mankind, "if they could not enjoy their Birth-rights, "without playing Tricks ſuitable to the "Humour of every Age, and be forc'd to "Swear to every Frenzy of the preſent "Times. Three Years ago, 'twas *All "Liberty and Indulgence, and now 'tis ſtrict and "rigid Conformity*, and what it may be in "ſome ſhort Time hereafter, without the "Spirit of Propheſying, might be ſhroudly "gueſt by a conſidering Man." To which the Court Lords had nothing to ſay, and it appear'd now, that they were reſolv'd to give up the Field of Argument, and rely on the Major Vote. The Duke of *Buckingham* to put off the Queſtion, made a Speech late at Night, of *Eloquent and Well-plac'd Nonſenſe*, ſhewing admirably how well he could do either in that or Senſe, which he

he had before try'd often in vain. But the Earl of *W*——— perceiving what he would be at, demanded the Queſtion; and in my Author's Phraſe, *The Major Vote, Ultima ratio Senatuum & Conciliorum*, carry'd it as the Court and Clergy would have it.

The Debate laſted ſeventeen whole days. The Houſe during that time, Sate often till Midnight, but the Oppoſition this Bill met with, and a Diſpute about Privilege ariſing between the Two Houſes, were the Occaſion that the Lords who were for the Bill, took ſo little Care of it afterwards, that 'twas never reported from the Committee to the Houſe.

Never was there ſhewn ſince the Reſtauration, ſuch a Spirit of Liberty, as in the Oppoſition to this Bill, which would for ever have put an end to any in *England*. Nor has the Debate a little Reſemblance with the Vigour that was lately exerted in the ſame Cauſe, on the Tryal of the Incendiary. The Temper of the Clergy was the ſame then, as ſome hot Men of 'em have ſince ſhewn in the ſame Controverſy, with this difference only, that there was more Folly in the latter, the Court being againſt 'em, and more Corruption in the former, the Miniſtry being making a bold Effort to attack our Conſtitution, which muſt have ended in its Subverſion.

What is moſt In-glorious to the Lords, who call'd themſelves Proteſtants, and yet gave this Countenance to Diſpotic Power, is, that the very *Roman Catholicks* joyn'd Heartily with the other Lords,

that ſo reſolutely vindicated their own and the People's Liberties. Beſides, the Lord *Stafford* before mention'd, the Lord *Petre* was warm againſt this Bill, and ſpoke often, as did the Lord *Audley*; and both are to be found among the Proteſting Lords, which occaſion'd this very juſt Obſervation of my Author. *But thus much I ſhall ſay of the* Roman Catholick *Peers, that if they were ſafe in their Eſtates, and yet kept out of Office, their Votes in that Houſe would not be the moſt unſafe to* England *of any ſort of Men in it.* And if we look into our Hiſtory before the Reign of *Henry* VIII. we ſhall not find the Clergy in ſuch Slaviſh Diſpoſitions, as the worſt of 'em, tho' not the leaſt, have ſince diſcover'd; not out of Conviction I ſuppoſe, but to complement the Power that prefers them. I cannot cloſe this matter, without obſerving the Zeal of ſome Lords in it, as indeed there was Reaſon, their *All* being at Stake. Among the moſt Zealous, we find the Earls of *Bedford*, *Devonſhire*, *Burlington*, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Say and Seal*, and the Lord *Pagett*. The Lord Viſcount *Hereford*, and the Lord Viſcount *Townſend*, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on this Occaſion. The Earl of *Carnarvan* came out of the Country on purpoſe to give his Vote againſt this Bill; and the Earl of *Bedford*, *Rutland*, the Lord *Sandys*, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Crew*, ſent their Proxies. But to deliver all their Names to Poſterity in Records, worthy their Merit, muſt be the Buſineſs of

of ſome Immortal Pen; to which I ſhall be Proud to be aſſiſting, by handing them to it as far as they have come to my Knowledge; for thoſe that follow were not all, but their Weight and Number become ſo important a Cauſe.

The D. of Buckingham,
Marq. of Wincheſter,
The Earl of Rutland,
The Earl of Bedford,
The Earl of Dorſet,
The Earl of Salisbury,
The E. of Bridgwater,
The E. of Devonſhire,
The E. of Bullingbrook
The Earl of Berks,
The Earl of Briſtol,
The Earl of Carnarvan,
The Earl of Aylesbury,
The Earl of Denbigh,
The Earl of Stamford,
The E. of Clarendon,
The E. of Shaftsbury,
The E. of Burlington,
The Lord Viſcount Hereford.
The Lord Viſcount Say *and* Seal.
The Lord Viſcount Townſend.
The Lord Viſcount Stafford.
The Lord Viſcount Hallifax.
The Lord Audley,
The Ld. Fitzwater,
The Ld. Wharton,
The Lord Eure,
The Lord Pagett,
The Lord Mohun,
The Lord Sandys,
The Lord Herbert *of* Cherbury.
The Lord Grey *of* Rolſton.
The Lord Nort h,
The Lord Crew,
The Lord Petre,
The Lord Hollis,
The Lord De la Mer.

Tho' this Teſt was drop'd in this manner, the Motives that brought it upon the Stage continu'd, which were to ruin the Principles that afterwards ſav'd us from the *Worſt of Slaveries*, as was the Phraſe two or

three Years ago. The Treaſurer as has been hinted, was one of the Three who gave the Negative to it, *Oxford*, tho' now it ſeems his Mind was chang'd, and he warmly eſpous'd it. This, and ſome other Court Practices, made him loſe the Favour of the Commons, and he took ſo little Care to recover it, that at laſt the Leading Members agreed *Not to conſent to give the King any Money, while the preſent Lord Treaſurer continued.* So high did they carry Matters againſt his Lordſhip, that King *Charles* was ſatisfy'd their Zeal for the *French* War, *was to leave him in it, and make uſe of it to ruin his Miniſters*, as he expreſt himſelf on that Subject. I can't imagine why Miniſters ſhould be always ſo afraid of War, eſpecially thoſe that have the Money Affairs under their management. Is it becauſe they are afraid of Parliaments, and that when a Houſe of Commons is made neceſſary to the Crown, the neceſſity of redreſſing Grievances preſſes harder upon them? One thing however I have taken notice of, that the Miniſters who have formerly been moſt for Peace with *France*, have never fail'd to have been always ready to War with *Holland*, which I do not underſtand: For they could not make War upon the *Dutch* without Mony, no more than againſt the *French*; and the Houſe was never fond of giving Supplies to ſuch dangerous Purpoſes. The Secret muſt be, that the *French* King was always willing to furniſh Money for that end, and they got more by him, than they could hope

hope to do by the *States*, who depended on the Ties of our Mutual Intereſts, which are not ſome times ſtrong enough, to cope with the Engagements of Faction and Corruption.

The Miſtery of the Differences between the E. of *D* —— and Mr. *Mountague*, is not likely to be laid fully open in our Hiſtories, and it is ſtill a Secret which will be bury'd with ſome of thoſe that in King *Charles*'s Reign, made the People of *England* ſo uneaſy and unhappy. It muſt be own'd by all Impartial Men, that the then Lord Treaſurer, was no more a Friend to *France* than to the Duke of *York*, who was never a Friend to him. And it is as well known, that the late Duke of *Mountague* was as forward as any Body, in adhering to that Cauſe, which *France* and her Friends endeavour'd to ruin here, as it had far'd under *Lewis* XIV. Yet that both of thoſe Great Men were clear of any unwarrantable Commerce with the *French* Court, to the hazarding our Conſtitution, and with that our Liberty for ever, is not to be believ'd. The Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, has given ſome Account of this Matter, but ſo little in favour of the Lord D— that he has thought fit to Publiſh a Volume of Original Letters in his own Vindication, with Remarks, and ſome Particulars of Fact not mention'd any where elſe. The Hiſtorian ſays, the Intrigues of the Miniſtry with the Court of *France*, were another Danger which rais'd the Jealouſy of the Commons. This ap-

pear'd more eſpecially, by a Meſſage from the King, on *December* the 19th, 1678. deliver'd to the Houſe of Commons. *That his Majeſty having received Intimation that his late Ambaſſador in* France, *Mr.* Mountague *a Member of that Houſe, had held ſeveral Private Correſpondencies with the Pope's Nuntio there, without any Directions or Inſtructions from his Majeſty: His Majeſty, to the end he might know the Truth of that Matter had given Orders for the ſeizing of Mr.* Mountague's *Papers.* I have been inform'd by a very good Hand, that Mr. *Mountague* having timely Notice of this intended Search of his Papers, and that he was to be charg'd with all the Guilt of the *French* Buſineſs, did uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to be choſen a Member of Parliament, and accordingly was choſen at *Northampton.* To prevent the Blow that was deſign'd him, he mov'd in the Houſe, that he had ſomething to communicate of the laſt Importance, and deſir'd the Door might be lock'd, which being done, he acquainted them that he had ſeveral Papers in his Cuſtody, relating to ſome Tranſactions in *France*, which he was apprehenſiive would be taken from him, and he deſir'd their Protection, and that they might be immediately ſent for, which was done. By this means, the Meſſengers from Court were prevented, and the Papers were produc'd in the Houſe, agreeable to the Account given in the before-mention'd Hiſtory in theſe Words.

Upon

Upon which Mr. *Mountague*, in his own Defence, acquainted the Houſe, " *That he* " *had in his Cuſtody ſeveral Papers, which he* " *conceiv'd might tend very much to the Safety* " *of his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Kingdom.* And accordingly a Box of Writings was ſent for, and opened in the Houſe, and Two Letters were produc'd and read in the Houſe, Subſcribed *Danby*; in the firſt of which, Dated *London*, 17 *Jan.* 1677. is contained as follows, but I take the Contents from the Letter of his Lordſhip's own Publiſhing, as being the faireſt way of proceeding.

" Your Intelligence concerning Mr. " *Ruvigny*, has not been the leaſt of your " Favours, and hitherto his Sons Steps " have been very ſuitable to your Infor- " mation, for yeſterdav he came to me " with Mr. *Barillon*, (having given me his " Fathers Letters the Day before) and " *diſcourſed much upon the Confidence the King* " *hath of the Firmneſs of ours to him; of the* " *good Opinion he hath of me; of the King's* " *Reſolution to condeſcend to any thing that is* " *not infamous to him, for the Satisfaction of* " *our King. How certainly our King may de-* " *pend upon all Aſſiſtances and Supplies from his* " *Maſter.*" This cannot be deny'd to be a very unlawful Correſpondence with the *French* Miniſters, and which ſhould not have been known by a good *Engliſh* Man, but it ſhould have been as ſoon diſcover'd and fruſtrated. Be it as it will, we muſt go further than all this for the Riſe of it, and perhaps it will be found that the King himſelf

himſelf was entirely the Maſter of this Affair, both in the Contrivance and the Conduct of it; and that the Guilt of the Treaſurer, if any at all, was Paſſive: For ſome time before this, Mr. *Mountague*, (afterwards Duke of *Mountague*) by King *Charles*'s Command, told Mr. *Ruvigny*, then the *French* Miniſter in *England*, *That the King thought he had given great Marks of his Sincerity, in breaking in upon the Triple Alliance.* Again, *That while he had been joyn'd with his Maſter, he had extreamly advanc'd his own Intereſt, and none of his Majeſty's.* Monſieur *Ruvigny* reply'd, *After ſuch great Sums his Maſter had paid in* England, *it was hard he ſhould be left by a Separate Peace with* Holland. To this Mr. *Mountague* anſwers, *As for the Sums of Money, they were not ſo great as to regret the Payment; that to his Knowledge, the Crown of* France *paid to the Crown of* Sweden, *Two Millions and a half for being Neuter, and that his Majeſty, who was ſo Great and ſo Powerful a King, had but Three Millions for ſo vaſt a Fleet, and* 10000 *Men ſuffer'd to paſs over into the* French *Service.* This is mention'd not only as a further Proof of the Money from *France*, but alſo of the double Dealing of *England* and *Sweden* in the Triple League. Mr. *Mountague*, upon this Conference with the *French* Ambaſſador, told my Lord *Arlington*, that *Mr.* Ruvigny *was ſo frighted at the mention of taking up the Triple Alliance again, He was ſure, if he were well manag'd, the Three Millions the King had during the War, might be continu'd to him.* And within a few Days Mr. *Ruvigny*, coming to Mr. *Mountague*,

gue, askt him what he ſhould do, for my Lord Treaſurer was in the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt; and the Miniſters turning againſt *France*, M. *M*—— told him, *The beſt way was*, (if his Majeſty would accept of it,) *to offer the Continuance of the Three Millions during the War, for in this World no Body does any thing for nothing*; *and the* French *Ambaſſador allow'd the Advice he gave was good, and what his Maſter was oblig'd to him for*. Accordingly he propos'd it to the Court of *France*, and it was conſented to, only with a Recommendation *to be as good a Husband of the King's Money as he could*, which he Negotiated ſo well, that he got King *Charles* to be content with a Penſion of 100000 Pounds. Mr. *M*—— being ſent to *France*, in a ſecond Ambaſſy, writes thus to King *Charles*, in a Letter Dated *June* 21. 1677.

"YOUR Majeſty may believe me, if Mr. *Ruvigny* had not manag'd, in "hopes to make his own Fortune by ſuch "a Service, you had had Three Hundred "Thouſand Piſtoles a Year, where now "you have but One. I trouble You, *SIR*, "with all theſe Particulars, that you may "the better know your own Power and "Greatneſs, and conſequently ſet a greater "Value upon it. I am ſure the Greatneſs "of the King of *France*, is ſupported on-"ly by your Majeſty's Connivance at "what he does, and the Good Will *Chri-"ſtendom* ſees you have for him. Though "After-Games are hard to play, I think "I underſtand this Court ſo well, if you

"care

" care to have it done. I am confident " I could get you by Agreement a Mil- " lion of Livres a Year, to be paid " whilſt the War ſhall laſt, and Four " Millions after the Peace ſhall be made; " I mean, Sir, over and above what you " have from *France* now.

Here was a noble Trafick for a King of *Great Britain*. No leſs than that of his Honour, the Proteſtant Religion, and Liberties of *Europe*; for the Paultry Benefit of 2 or 300000 Pounds a Year. The Agent had doubtleſs his Inſtructions from the King, or he durſt not have made him ſo Scandalous a Propoſal. The Perſon that did it in all the other Actions of his Life, was ſo true a Patriot, that 'tis amazing how he ſhou'd in this ſo far forget the Hereditary Zeal of his Noble Family for the Publick Good. He was in this Affair ſo conſcious of the Guilt of it, that he was afraid any body ſhould know it but his Maſter; for in the ſame Letter, he ſays, " Sir, If you approve of my Propoſition, be " pleaſed to write me Five or Six Lines with " your Demands and Directions, and I " doubt not but to give you a good Account " of it. Since I do not know which of " your Miniſters you are willing to truſt, " I have taken the boldneſs to give you " this Trouble, and if you truſt any, I " had rather it were my Lord Treaſurer, " becauſe I think he is the beſt Judge of " ſuch an Affair; and except you ſhall " think it for your Service, that he ſees

" this

" this Letter, I humbly beg my Siſter may " ſee it burnt. The Earl of —— obſerves juſtly enough in his Remarks on this Letter, that tis plain the Money Affair was tranſacting with the Lord *Arlington*, before he knew any thing of it, and ſo much muſt be own'd; but how far that excuſes his giving into it after, I leave the Reader to judge. At the ſame time that the *French* Court paid ſo many Millions to *England* and *Sweden*. They paid many more to other Princes, and particularly to the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Hanover*. The latter being at that time a Papiſt, and in the Intereſt of *France*; the Duke of *Bavaria* had Three Millions of Livres a Year. While this buſineſs was tranſacting with Monſieur *Pompone* and the *French* Miniſters at *Paris*, Monſieur *Courtin*, then Ambaſſador from *France* at *London*, had brought King *Charles* to accept of 2 Millions of Livres; and it appears that the E. of *D.* was in the Secret a long while before the above mention'd Letter for Monſieur *Pompone* aſſur'd Mr. *Montague* the King had condeſcended to it *de concert avec le Grand Treſorier*. However 200000 Pounds Sterling was inſiſted upon. There was one Reaſon given why it ſhould be ſo many Pounds and not Livres, becauſe King *Charles* had *been abſolutely the occaſion of the* French *King's Conqueſts in* Flanders.

It

It might have been pretended that this Money was wanted as the Treaſurer ſaid, *for that the King was apprehenſive of a breach with* Spain, *and was afraid he muſt be at great Charge about the Weſtern Iſlands.* This was ſaid very gravely, and as if we were in mortal dread of another *Spaniſh* Armada: However, it was a poor pretence, for after the Peace was to be concluded, Mr. *Montague* ſays, in his Letter of the 30th of *Auguſt*; " I am confident I can bring on " my firſt Propoſition of Four Millions " after the Peace " what follows, intimates that the Treaſurer was not ſo averſe to the Affair, as is inſinuated in thoſe Letters; " I dare flatter my ſelf ſo much, " as to believe you will approve the ſteps " I have already made towards effecting " it. The Peace between *France* and the Allies was actually treating at *Nimeguen*, by King *Charles*'s Mediation, while we were bargaining for theſe Millions; Was ever Court more *Janus* than ours. How can it be expected the *Dutch* ſhou'd have a Frontier, or the *Spaniards* their Towns, when we were unwilling to offend *France*, for fear of ſtopping the Money Affair. " I did not think it proper, *ſays our Am-* " *baſſador to the King*, nor for your Ser- " vice to inſiſt upon the Reſtoring the " Towns, and to charge my ſelf too with " Propoſitions of Money. Yet I take the " liberty to put you in mind, Sir, that if " you come not to a Breach with *France*, *you* " *may certainly accommodate your own Affairs.* " And it is not reaſonable that they

" ſhou'd

" ſhou'd go away with all the Advantage " of a War, that you have really help'd " them ſo much in, and inconvenienc'd " your ſelf ſo much by " ſomething very Courtly, and at the ſame time very merry follows. That which theſe Gentlemen were tranſacting for King *Charles* was the giving up the Common Cauſe abroad, and Invading our Conſtitution at home by the neglect of Parliaments, which this bad Bargain, prompted him to, yet the Ambaſſador ſeriouſly tells him, " And I am ſure there ſhall be " nothing that I ſhall always Study, nor " Wiſh ſo much, as what may be for " your Honour and Advantage.

When this Matter was brought before the Houſe, wherein Mr. *M.* prevented the E. of *D.* the latter, deſir'd ſome Letters from the former might be Read in his Juſtification, which was deny'd him. But it does not conſiſt with the Impartiality of an Hiſtorian, to refuſe ſuch Juſtice to a Perſon accus'd. He ought to diveſt himſelf of Party-Prejudice and Paſſion, which often corrupt the moſt Publick Judgments; and I ſhall therefore mention what is material in them. The Firſt ſpeaks of Mr. *Ruvigny*, the Son's being ſent to *England*, and tells his Errand. " By the near Relation he has to my " Lady *Vaughan*, who is his Couſin Ger- " man, and the particular Friendſhip " which his Father and Son have with " Mr. *William Ruſſell*, he is to be intro- " duc'd into a great Commerce with the " Male-

" Male-Contented Members of Parlia-
" ment, and inſinuate what they ſhall
" think fit to croſs your (the E. of *D*'s.)
" Meaſures at Court. The Second is
much more in the E. of *D*'s. Favour.
" *Ruvigny*'s Chief Errand is to let the
" King know, that the King of *France*
" did hope he was ſo firm to him, as not
" to be led away by the Grand Treaſurer:
" He was an Ambitious Man, and to keep
" himſelf with the People, would gratifie
" their Inclinations, by leading his Maſter
" into an unreaſonable War. That as
" for Money, if he wanted that, he
" ſhould have what he would from hence.
" Again Old *Ruvigny* that values him-
" ſelf for knowing *England*, has given it
" them for a Maxim, that they muſt
" diminiſh your Credit before they could
" do any good.

'Tis moſt certain, the E. of *D.* was then entirely in the Intereſts of the Prince of *Orange*, and the ſhare he had in the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary* to that Prince ſhews that he was not the beſt Friend *France* had in *England*. His Highneſs when he was at *Margate*, in his way with his Bride to *Holland*, wrote to him; " I was deſirous that the laſt thing
" I do, before I go may be thanking you
" for all the good Offices you have done
" me, and intreating that I may always
" have the Continuance of them.

Again, from *Honſler Dyck*, " I could
" not forbear writing to repeat the offers
" of my humble Service, and to aſſure

" you

" you of the true Senſe I have of all the " Obligations you have laid upon me. There was before this Marriage a very Friendly Correſpondence held between the Prince and the Treaſurer; and if the latter was at any time for taking *French* Money; at others he was doing that which wou'd have prevented the ill effects of it in the *Netherlands*, as may be ſeen by the Letters the Prince wrote him, and the Anſwers to them. Even at the juncture of the Money Bargain in *France*, which was ſo meritorious a piece of ſervice, that Mr. *Colbert* endeavour'd to get the negotiating it out of Mr. *Louvoy*'s Hands, and ſent a Friend of his to Mr. *Mountague*, to tell him, Mr. *Louvey* was not in Earneſt, and that if the Treaty was carry'd with himſelf, the Money wou'd come eaſier, he being to pay it. To the Penſion Mr. *Colbert* offer'd another temptation, the marrying King *Charles*'s Niece, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*'s Daughter to the Dauphin. But our Court was more ſollicitous for Ready Money, than for future Proſpects of Glory or Advantage. The Second Letter produc'd in the Houſe of Commons againſt the E. of *D.* was a Letter to Mr. *Mountague* from him, dated the 25th of *March*, which is ſaid to be unfairly quoted in the Hiſtory of *England*; wherefore I ſhall take as much of it as relates to my purpoſe, from his Lordſhips own Copy. " In caſe the Conditions of " Peace ſhall be excepted, the King ex- " pects to have Six Millions of Livres

" a Year, for Three Years; from the time " that this Agreement ſhall be Sign'd, " betwixt his Majeſty and the King of " *France*, becauſe it will probably be " Two or Three Years before the Parlia- " ment will be in Humour to give him " any Supplies after the making of any " Peace with *France*, and the Ambaſſador " here has always agreed to that Sum, " but not for ſo long a time; and all " poſſible care muſt be taken to have this " whole Negotiation as private as is " poſſible, for fear of giving Offence at " Home. Where for the moſt part we " hear in Ten Days after of any Thing " that is communicated to the *French* Mi- " niſters. I muſt again repeat to you, " that whatever you write upon this Sub- " je& to the Secretary (to whom you " muſt not mention a Syllable of the " Money) you muſt ſay only as a thing " you believe they would conſent to, " if you had Power formally to make " theſe Propoſitions: Pray inform your " ſelf to the bottom, of what is to be " expected from *France*, and aſſure them, " that you believe this will be the laſt " time that you ſhall receive any Pro- " poſitions of a Peace, if theſe he re- " je&ed, (as indeed I believe it will) ſo " that you may take your own Mea- " ſures as well as the King's upon it. " *This Letter is written by Order*, C. R.

'Tis apparent that the very dangerous Conſequences of ſuch a Commerce as this, made it of abſolute neceſſity to have ſuch

a

a Warrant from the King. However, we have a Loyal Maxim in our Conſtitution, that the King can do no wrong; and if in Complacency to Intereſt, Ambition or Friendſhip, I do that which is unlawful or diſhonourable; 'tis not a Juſtification to ſay I did it againſt my Opinion. If what is ſaid in a Letter of the E. of *D*'s. to the Prince, dated ſix Weeks before this, is more for his Lord's purpoſe, 'tis but Juſtice to let it appear at the ſame time. " I have Reaſon to believe " that the Propoſition about giving *Charlemont*, or ſome other Place for *Tournay* " will be accepted in *France*. And I have " not leſs reaſon to believe that the " making of the Peace upon that Propoſition, wou'd be very fatal to the " Intereſt of the King my Maſter, I confeſs I cannot ſee but that the Conſequences muſt be ill to your Highneſs " alſo when the Confederacy ſhall be " thereby broken, and we perhaps " tied to ſuch Conditions as may " leave us uncapable of giving you " any aſſiſtance: Beſides the Parliament " has now voted 26000 Foot, and 4000 " Horſe and Dragoons, and 90 Sail of " Men of War, and I am confident " will not ſtop them, in caſe his Maſter " will go freely into the War, which yet " they all doubt, and not without Cauſe. " I will have no Reſerve to your Highneſs " in this matter; and therefore you muſt " know that Mr. *Ruvigny* (who has been

" here this Fortnight) goes on *Monday* to " the *French* King with this Propoſition, " and deſigns to return hither with an " Anſwer the laſt of this Month (our " Stile) or the 1ſt or 2d of *March*, and " till that time expects the King will de- " clare nothing againſt him, *&c.* Again, " from what I have now inform'd your " Highneſs, and more that I muſt not " ſay, I hope your Highneſs will not con- " ſent to any Alterations of the Firſt " Propoſitions by my Lord *Feverſham*; " you ſee how entirely I truſt my ſelf in " your Highneſs's Hands, where I can " no more doubt of my own Safety than " I can of your Honour. The ſtreſs that lies upon this, is the adviſing to keep to my Lord *Faverſham*'s Propoſals, and as his Lordſhip ſays, *If the Propoſitions for a Peace, which were then ſent were not accepted, there ſhould be no mention at all made of the Money, that he did believe thoſe Propoſitions would be rejected, and that therefore Mr.* M. *might take his own Meaſures.* Which I perceive by his Lordſhip's own Account of the matter Mr. *Mountague* did *for theſe* Propoſals about the Money were never made, and inſtead of treating for it, he purſu'd the Orders he receiv'd for getting Intelligence in all the Parts of *France*, about their Shipping, *&c.* in order to a War. This happen'd but a few Months before Mr. *Mountague* return'd to *England*, and without the King's leave; which 'tis probable was done to ſecure himſelf a Seat in Parliament, and to prevent the Deſigns againſt him.

him. For as his Lordſhip correſponded both with *France* and *Holland*, ſo did Mr. *Mountague* with Court and Country, and attributed to himſelf the Honour of putting a ſtop to the Payment of that Penſion. This his Friends ſay was one of the main Reaſons of his falling into the King's Diſpleaſure, tho' his Lordſhip aſſures us 'twas for ſome Intelligence concerning him given the King by the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, Mr. *Olivecrans*, which 'tis likely related to his Correſpondence, contrary to the Court Humor. And his conſtant adherence to the true Intereſt of his Country afterwards, as well at all times as at the Revolution, gives great Reaſon to believe he found he was in the wrong, and endeavour'd to retrieve the Miſchief he was doing. His Friends to Coroborate this Surmiſe, have obſerv'd that what the E. of *D.* publiſh'd againſt him was not done till after he was dead, and could not reply; in the mean time on reading the two Letters, one from Mr. *M.* and one from the E. of *D.* before mention'd the Houſe immediately reſolv'd, That there was ſufficient matter of Impeachment againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; and Articles of Impeachment were drawn up and agreed on, *Decemb.* 21.

I. That he hath Traiterouſly encroach'd to himſelf Regal Power, by Treating in matters of Peace and War with Foreign Princes and Ambaſſadors, and giving In-

ſtructions to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador Abroad, without Communicating the ſame to the Secretaries of State, and the reſt of his Majeſty's Council, *&c.*

II. That he hath Traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the Ancient and well Eſtabliſh'd Form of Government, and inſtead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyranical way of Government. And the better to effect this his Purpoſe, he did deſign the raiſing of an Army, under pretence of a War againſt the *French* King, and then to continue the ſame, as a Standing Army within this Kingdom, *&c.*

III. That he Traiterouſly intended to alienate the Hearts and Affections of his Majeſty's good Subjects, from his Royal Perſon and Government, and to hinder the meeting of Parliaments, and to deprive his Majeſty of their ſafe and wholſome Councils, *&c.*

IV. That he is Popiſhly affected, and hath Traiterouſly concealed after he had notice of the late horrid Plot, or Conſpiracy, contriv'd by the Papiſts, againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and hath ſuppreſt the Evidence, and reproachfully diſcountenanced the King's Witneſſes in the diſcovery of it, in favour of Popery, *&c.*

V. That he hath waſted the King's Treaſure, by Iſſuing out of his Majeſty's Exchequer, and ſeveral Branches of his Revenue, divers great Sums of Money for unneceſſary Penſions, and Secret Services, to the Value of 231602 *l.* within two Years, *&c.*

VI. That

VI. That he hath by indirect means procured from his Majeſty, for himſelf, divers conſiderable Gifts and Grants of Inheritance, of the Ancient Revenue of the Crown, even contrary to Acts of Parliaments.

Theſe Articles were carry'd up to the Lords, with a deſire that the ſaid *Thomas* Earl of *Danby* might be ſequeſtred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to ſafe Cuſtody.

The Popiſh Lords had been Impeach'd before, and my Hiſtorian ſays, The King was ſo much diſturb'd with theſe Proceedings, that he prorogu'd the Parliament *December* the 31ſt, and diſſolv'd them the 24th of *January*. *Thus ended*, continues he, with Honour to themſelves, the Long Parliament, which being firſt call'd, and begun the 8th of *May*, 1661, had been continu'd by ſeveral Prorogations and Adjournments, for Seventeen Years, Eight Months and Seventeen Days: Many Reflections were made on the Prime Reaſon of their Diſſolution, ſome reſolv'd it into the Kings Anger at the Commitment and Impeachment of his firſt Miniſter the Lord Treaſurer; but Sir *William Temple* is poſitive, "That the Treaſurer was be-"fore fallen into the King's Diſpleaſure, "for bringing the Popiſh Plot into Par-"liament againſt the King's Abſolute "Command; of which his Lordſhip gives this Relation himſelf, "As to the Con-"cealment of the Popiſh Plot, I was ſo

" far from concealing it, that the greateſt " diſpleaſure King *Charles* ever ſhew'd a- " gainſt me, was bringing *Titus Oates*'s " Informations before the Parliament, and " I find it written in ſome of Sir *William* " *Temples*'s Memoirs, ſo he told me him- " ſelf, that the King was very Angry " with me for it; and that although I did " not believe it, I ſhould find I had " given the Parliament a handle to " ruin me as well as to diſturb all his " Affairs, and that I wou'd live to re- " pent it. *He tells us in another place*, If " the King wou'd have permitted me to " have produc'd Mr. *Mountague*'s Letters, " the Crime of endeavouring to get Money " from *France* (if it could be call'd a " Crime, under the Circumſtances afore- " ſaid) would have been laid to Mr. " *Mountague*'s Charge, and not to me, as I " told the King, when he offer'd me his " Pardon; but was anſwer'd by his Ma- " jeſty, That I ow'd him more Duty than " to expoſe his and his Ambaſſador's Let- " ters of private Negotiations, betwixt " him and the King of *France*, and he " was ſure I would not be guilty of " ſuch a Perfidious Baſeneſs to him, as " *Mountague* had been " and to ob- viate ſome Objections that might be made againſt his Lordſhip's not producing ſuch neceſſary Teſtimonials of his being paſſive in this reſpect, he aſſures us, that he *verily believes the King was ſo apprehenſive that the producing thoſe Letters wou'd have ſo much heighten'd the ill Humour of that Parliament*, that

that the fear of producing them (which I muſt have done, rather than ſuffer the Bill of Attainder to paſs againſt me,) was one of the Cauſes of Diſſolving that Parliament. The Hiſtorian continues his Relation as follows.

That New Parliament met *March* 6. and on *March* 20, they *Reſolved*, " That a " a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, to put " them in mind of the Impeachment of " High Treaſon, Exhibited againſt *Thomas* " Earl of *Danby*, in the Names of the " Commons of *England*, and to deſire that " he may be committed to ſafe Cuſtody. " *Reſolving*, That it be referred to the " Committee of Secrecy, to draw up " further Articles againſt him. " Two Days afterwards the King ſpoke to them, in favour of the Earl of *Danby*, in the Houſe of Peers; but returning to their Houſe, they *Reſolved*, " That a Meſſage be im- " mediately ſent to the Lords, to remind " their Lordſhips of the laſt Meſſage ſent " them from this Houſe, relating to *Tho-* " *mas* Earl of *Danby*, and to demand that " he might be forthwith ſequeſtred from " Parliament, and Committed to Safe " Cuſtody. " Upon which the Lords de- ſired a preſent Conference with the Com- mons, where the Duke of *Monmouth* ſpoke thus. *I am commanded by the Lords to ac- quaint you, That their Lordſhips having taken into Conſideration, Matters relating to the Earl of* Danby, *together with what his Majeſty was pleaſed to ſay upon that Subject, have ordered that a Bill be brought in, by which* Thomas *Earl of* Danby, *may be made for ever incapable of*

coming

coming to his Majeſty's Preſence, and of all Offices and Employments, and of receiving any Grants or Gifts from the Crown, and of Sitting in the Houſe of Peers. In the mean time, the Commons hearing the King had Sign'd a Pardon for the Earl, they appointed a Committee to repair to the Ld. Chancellor, to inquire into the manner of Suing forth that Pardon. The Lord Chancellor did inform the Committee, " That the Pardon " was paſſed with all Privacy, the King " Commanding him to bring the Seal to " *Whitehal*, and being there, he laid it up- " on the Table, whereupon his Majeſty " Commanded the Seal to be taken out of " the Bag, which his Lordſhip was oblig'd " to ſubmit to, it not being in his Power " to hinder it, and the King writ his Name " near the top of the Parchment, and then " directed to have it Sealed; whereupon " the Perſon that uſually carried the Purſe, " affixed the Seal to it. " Upon this Report from his Lordſhip, the Commons *Reſolved*, " That an Humble Addreſs be made " to his Majeſty, to repreſent the irregu- " larity and illegality of the Pardon men- " tion'd by his Majeſty, to be granted to " the Earl of *Danby*, and the dangerous " Conſequence of granting Pardons to any " Perſons that lye under an Impeachment " of the Houſe of Commons. " On the 25th of *March*, 1679. the Lords ſent a Meſſage to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, *That they had ſent to apprehend* Thomas *Earl of* Danby, *both to his Houſe here in Town, and to his Houſe at* Wimbleton; *and*

that

that the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod, had returned their Lordſhips Anſwer, That he could not be found; Whereupon the Commons ordered, " That a Bill be brought in to " Summon *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, to ren- " der himſelf to Juſtice by a certain Day, " to be therein limited, or in default " thereof, to Attaint him." Two Days afterwards, the Lords ſent down a Bill, Entituled, *An Act for Baniſhing and Diſabling* Thomas *Earl of* Danby, *&c.* But the Commons immediately *Reſolved*, That the Bill be rejected, and on the Firſt of *April* paſt a Bill for the Attainder of *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, of High Treaſon, which they ſent up to the Lords by Sir *Robert Reyton*. On the fourth of *April*, there was a Conference between the Two Houſes, concerning the Bill ſent up againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, where the Privy Seal, manag'd the Conference for his Lordſhip, and ſpoke to this Effect. *That the Lords choſe to deliver back by Conference, rather than Meſſage, to preſerve a good Underſtanding, and to prevent Debate or Controverſy between them. The Lords obſerve, that the great Affairs of this Nation are at a ſtand, at a time of greateſt Danger and Difficulty that ever this Kingdom laboured under. That the King hath always in his Reign, inclined to Mercy and Clemency to all his Subjects; therefore to a King ſo merciful and Compaſſionate, the firſt Interruption of his Clemency they did deſire ſhould not proceed from the Two Houſes, preſſing the King to an Act of the greateſt Severity, therefore have paſſed the Bill with ſome Amendments,*

which

which he deliver'd. The Commons diſagreed to the Amendments made by the Lords, and drew up Reaſons to be offer'd in ſome other Conference, importing, That their Lordſhip's Amendments had wholly alter'd the Nature of their Bill, and from a Bill of Attainder, had converted it into a Bill of Baniſhment: And at the ſame time, drew up an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire him to iſſue out his Royal Proclamation, for Apprehending the ſaid Earl. They had the ſame Day another Conference with the Lords, upon the Earl of *Danby*'s Caſe, where the Lord *Huntington* manag'd the Conference, and what he deliver'd, was to this Purpoſe. *The Lords have deſired this Conference with the Commons not ſo much to argue and diſpute, as to mitigate and reconcile. They have already obſerv'd, that the Debate of this Bill hath given ſo long, and ſo great an Obſtruction to Publick Buſineſs, and therefore they deſire you to believe, that that is the Reaſon which hath chiefly prevail'd with their Lordſhips, in a Matter of this Nature. And upon this Ground it is, that if a way may be found, to ſatisfie and ſecure the Publick Fears, by growing leſs than the Bill you have propoſed, the Lords do not think it adviſeable to inſiſt upon the utmoſt, and moſt Rigorous Satisfaction to prevent Juſtice, which might be denied. To induce you to this Compliance, the Lords do acknowledge, that Baniſhment is far from being the Legal Judgment, in Caſe of High Treaſon; that it is not the Legal Judgement in any Caſe whatſoever, ſince it can never be inflicted but by the Legiſlative Authority: But they ſee no*

Reaſon

Reaſon why the Legiſlative Authority ſhould always be found to act to the utmoſt Extent of its Power; for there may be a Prudential neceſſity ſometimes of making Abatements, and it might be of fatal Conſequence, if it ſhould not be ſo. And the Lords to remove all Jealouſies of the Precedents of this kind, do Declare, That nothing which hath been done in the Earl of Danby's *Caſe, ſhall be ever drawn into Example for the time to come, and will ſo Enter it upon their Journal. And thereupon their Lordſhips inſiſt upon their Amendments, ſo far as to exclude all Attainders; and do promiſe themſelves the Commons will in this Point comply with their Lordſhips, who do again aſſure them, that their Reſolutions are grounded only upon their Tenderneſs and Conſideration of the Publick. April* 12. There was another Conference on this Subject, upon which the Commons again *Reſolved* to adhere to their Bill, and to diſagree to the Amendments made by the Lords. At laſt the Bill of Attainder paſt both Houſes, and Sir *Edward Carteret* Uſher of the Black Rod, on *April* 16. acquainted the Houſe of Lords, That the Earl of *Danby* had the laſt Night rendred himſelf to him, and was in his Cuſtody. The Hiſtorian gives this further Account of the Matter. 'Their Lord-
" ſhips ordered him to be brought to the
" Bar, where kneeling, and then ſtanding
" up, the Lord Chancellor let him know,
" That he ſtands Impeached by the Com-
" mons; and that upon his withdrawing
" himſelf, a Bill of Attainder had paſſed
" the Two Houſes, by which however, he
" had

" had Time given him to come in, and " make his Defence.

" The Earl of *Danby* excus'd his not ap- " pearing ſooner, declar'd his Innocency, " and made ſeveral Petitions to the Houſe, " and then was ordered to withdraw. " And being calld in, and brought to the " Bar again, the Lord Chancellor acquain- " ted him, that their Lordſhips will allow " him Time to give in his Anſwer to the " Articles of Impeachment, till the firſt " Day of the Sitting of the Houſe after " *Eaſter*. That if any further Charge be " put in againſt him, he ſhall have further " Time to Anſwer; That he ſhall have " Council aſſign'd him, and ſhall have " Liberty to make uſe of Records, and " that his Witneſſes ſhall be Summoned. Upon which he withdrew, and by Orders of the Houſe was Committed to the Tower. The 25th of *April*, the Earl was brought from the Tower, to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, where he deliver'd in Writing his Plea and Anſwer to the Articles of Impeachment; which being read, he withdrew. The ſame Day the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, to acquaint them that the Earl of *Danby* had appear'd in Perſon at the Bar of their Houſe, and put in his Plea, which they had ſent down, and deſir'd it might be returned with all convenient ſpeed.

April the 28th, the Committee appointed to Examine and Peruſe the Nature of the Plea of *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, made this Report. 1. *We find no Precedent, that ever any*

any Pardon was granted to any Perſon Impeached by the Commons of High Treaſon, or other High Crimes. 2. *As to the manner of paſſing the Earl of* Danby's *Pardon, it hath been formerly reported to the Houſe, and the Committee refer themſelves to that Report.* 3. *That by what means it was obtained, the Time allowed the Committee hath been ſo ſhort, that we cannot yet diſcover the Adviſers or Promoters thereof any further than what is mention'd in the ſaid Report, relating to the Lord Chancellor.* Reſolved, That a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, to deſire their Lordſhips to demand of the Earl of *Danby, Whether he will rely upon, and abide by his Pardon?* Accordingly the next Day, the Earl was again brought to the Bar of the Lord's Houſe, where kneeling, and then ſtanding up, the Lord Chancellor acquainted him, that the Commons had returned to their Lordſhips the Plea delivered by him at the Bar of their Houſe, on the 25th Inſtant, with a deſire that their Lordſhips would ask him, *Whether he will rely upon, and abide by his ſaid Plea.* The Earl praying Time to anſwer their Lordſhips, allow'd him till *Saturday* next, and then he withdrew, and was Committed back to the *Tower* on the 5th of *May.*

My Author not having taken Notice of the Earl's Anſwer at the Time given him, I can only obſerve by what follows, that his Lordſhip ſeem'd to inſiſt on his Pardon, as the quickeſt way to get clear of the Peril he was in. For the Commons *Reſolved*, " That it was the Opinion of the " Houſe, that the Pardon pleaded by the

" E. of

" E. of *Danby*, was illegal and void, and ought " not to be allow'd in Bar of the Impeach- " ment of the Commons of *England*. And Mr. Speaker with the Houſe, went up to the Lords Bar, and demanded Judgement againſt the ſaid Earl. And underſtanding afterwards, that the Lords would admit the Earl of *Danby* to have the Validity of his Pardon pleaded at their Bar, they *Reſolved*, " That no Commoner whatſoever " preſume to maintain the Validity of the " Pardon pleaded by the Earl of *Danby*, " without the Leave of this Houſe firſt " had; and that the Perſons ſo doing, ſhould " be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties " of the Commons of *England*." Thus his Lordſhip continu'd in the *Tower*, till Hillary Term 168$\frac{3}{4}$, when he made a Motion for his Enlargement, and had the Caſe argu'd by Learned Council, upon which the Judges deliver'd their Opinions ſeverally, the 12th of *February* giving their Reaſons, and concluding all in one Judgment, *That his Lordſhip ought to be Bail'd*, and accordingly Bail was taken, his Lordſhip being Bound in a Recognizance of Twenty Thouſand Pounds, and the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Albemarle*, and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Cheſterfield* his Sureties, in Five Thouſand Pounds a piece, upon Condition that the Earl of *Danby* do appear in the Houſe of Lords the next Seſſion of Parliament, and not depart without Leave of that Court. *This*, ſays my Author, was to be a Precedent for the *Popiſh* Lords, *&c.* The Lord Chief Juſtice and the other Judges agreeing,

agreeing, *That for the ſame Reaſons they had given in the Earl of* Danby's *Caſe, theſe Lords ought likewiſe to be Bailed.* And accordingly Recognizances and Sureties were accepted.

Such was the end of this Famous Proſecution: How Juſt, or how Groundleſs it was, I ſhall not preſume to decide; and have remember'd theſe Facts only, as unqueſtionable Inſtances of the Hand we had our ſelves in the *French* King's late Exorbitant Power, which has coſt us ſo much to reduce. It is therefore Madneſs to be apprehenſive that King can ever again have any Influence on our Councils, or Part in our Friendſhip. The Example of this Noble Lord, in the worſt of Times, is enough ſure, to deter any Miniſter hereafter, from giving the leaſt Encouragement to ſuch baſe Offers from *France* For if the being Paſſive in ſuch a Clandeſtine Treaty, brought a Perſon into ſo much Peril of his Life and Fortune; if to acquieſce in a thing he had ſo great an Averſion to, was ſo Criminal, what muſt it be to deal with the *French* Court out of Choice, and any more to have any ſecret unwarrantable Commerce with them. It may be objected, That if his Lordſhip was ſo clear in this Matter, Why was he Pardon'd, why did he abſcond? To which his own Anſwer is, *I do not wonder that my pleading a Pardon, and Abſconding my ſelf for ſome time, might juſtly make both Parliament and Nation, believe that I thought my ſelf Guilty of ſome great Crime, but I did both in Obedience to the King's Commands.*

We ought not to omit what Opinion his Lordſhip had of the *French* Court and Miniſters, it agreeing ſo exactly with their preſent Character, and ſerving ſo well for a Leſſon to all good *Engliſh* Men, that ſhall ever have any thing to do with them; 'tis in a Letter to the late Lord *Sunderland*, *I had always ſo bad an Opinion of that Court, that I will believe no Good can come from it. I doubt not but your Lordſhip muſt be of the ſame Opinion, by the Tricks and Evaſions you meet with from them every Day.*

The *French* did not only practiſe upon our Court, to procure an advantageous Peace for them; they did the ſame in *Holland*, and tho' the Prince of *Orange* told Sir *William Temple*, he would *hinder a Peace as long as he could.* Yet many of their Principal Men puſht hard for it, and the Clamour ran high againſt prolonging the War; which Mr. *Mountague* gives us this Reaſon for. *The King of* France *is in very good Humour, upon the Aſſurances, I believe, he has of having ſuch a Peace from the* Dutch, *as he deſires; which has been manag'd underhand, by great Preſents, to thoſe that are not well Wiſhers to the Prince of* Orange. The Penſioner *Fagel* ſurpriz'd an Original Letter from Mr. *Louvois*, to Mr. *D' Eſtrades*, in which he bids Him tell thoſe of his Correſpondents in *Holland*, from whence the late Advices came, *That in caſe they gave him no better, he would certainly ſtop their Penſions.* Thus Sir *William Temple* writes to the Earl of *Danby*, in 1678.

There

There remains one thing in the Money Affair, and its Conſequence, which proves the Dependance a Wiſe Man ought to have on Court Friendſhip. The E. of *D* —— informs us, that from the time Mr. *Mountague* could not by his means obtain the Secretary's Office for 10000 Pounds, the Treaſurer having given his Word to Sir *William Temple*, Mr. *Mountague* commenc'd his Enemy, and purſu'd the Method to his ruin, of which we have already ſpoken. Now this Mr. *Mountague*, is the ſame whom Sir *William Temple* writes of, in a Letter to his Father, three or four Years before that he had offer'd to lend Sir *William* Money to lay down for that very Place, when he could not come in without it, Six Thouſand Pounds being then the Price, tho' now Ten Thouſand could not carry it.

Tho' I cannot believe there's any Body ſo very Incredulous, or rather Stupid, as not to be fully ſatisfi'd of the ſeveral Engagements between King *James* and the *French* King; yet ſince there are ſo many who pretend we have been in the Wrong ever ſince the Revolution, that we have been Fighting for others, and not for our ſelves; That if we had let King *James* alone, he would have gone no further than he did; which indeed was far enough to Govern by his Pleaſure, and an Army in Oppoſition to all our good Laws and Liberties: That he was an Heroick Prince, who aggrander'd this Nation by his Fleet, and Care of Trade; that he would never have ſtoop'd to *France*, had *Lewis* XIV. offer'd to have put

any Hardſhips upon him; and as ſome ſaid in a certain Place not along ago, that he was a good *Exchequer King*. Whatever his Temper might have led him to, as to *France* in the latter, when the *Empire* and the *United Provinces* were over-run and deſtroy'd, it would not have been in his Power to have diſputed the Soveraignty with the *French* King; and he would have been enough favour'd, had that Monarch been pleas'd to allow him an under Tyranny, with the empty Name of *King*, while He Reign'd as Abſolute over *Britain*, as he does now over *Spain*. And this will ever be the Fate of *England*, if *French* Councils, and *French* Princes prevail here.

'Tis ridiculous to ſay we are in no danger of the *Pretender*. I defy any one to ſhew me in Hiſtory, whether a Twelvemonth before the Reſtauration, there was any Probability of King *Charles*'s Return to *England*. Did the Royaliſts then dare to write againſt the Principles of the then Uſurp'd Government? Were the *Cavaliers* favour'd and employ'd? Were the Clergy of the High Strain humour'd and encourag'd? Was the Divine Right of Kings aſſerted, and Reſiſtance in any Caſe made Damnable? Was the Teſt of Abjuration diſpenc'd with? Did not *Monk*, but a few Months before he brought in that Monarch, ſpeak in Parliament, that all *Cavaliers* and their Principles, ſhould be diſcountenanc'd; and He and His Officers, with great Solemnity, renounce the Title of the *Royal Houſe of* Stuart. Yet a Miraculous

culous Revolution happen'd without Bloodſhed, in a very little while; and it was found that the moſt buſie Republicans were in the Secret. True it is, we are in no Danger of the Pretender, while Her Majeſty lives; She reigns ſo much in the Hearts of Her People, that he will hardly dare another raſh Attempt againſt her, nor his Friends have the Boldneſs again to provoke her Juſtice. But that the moſt Serene Houſe of *Hanover*, has as many Friends as Her Majeſty, who is there ſo Sanguine as to imagine? Then what has been, may be as a Noble Lord told an Auguſt Aſſembly ſometime ſince. Wherefore we ought all to joyn heartily againſt thoſe Principles and Practices, which have the leaſt tendency to favour the Pretender's Title and Intereſt. Such are all Inſinuations, that King *James* had hard Meaſure, and that the Revolution was not worth ſo much as it coſt: Thus it is with the Ungrateful. When the Biſhops were ſent to the *Tower*, an *Impoſtor Prince*, as the Addreſſes call him, impos'd on us; a Parliament packing to repeal our Laws againſt Popery. When Property was every where invaded, and Liberty made a Tool to bring in Slavery, then would theſe Proteſtants, who are now ſo Zealous for the Unalienable and Indefeazible Right of the Crown, who are ſo Frugal of their own, and the Publick Purſe, have cry'd out *Take Half* for a Proteſtant King and Liberty. Such will be their Sentiments again, ſhould they ever be try'd; but as we are entirely

ſafe, while Her Majeſty's on the Throne, ſo may She long ſit there with Glory; and when late ſhe leaves it, to Reign in Heaven with her Royal Siſter Queen *MARY*, and her Royal Predeceſſor Queen *ELIZABETH*; may the ſame Zeal that appear'd at the Revolution Flame out again for the Proteſtant Succeſſion to the utter Confuſion of the Pretender, his Friends and his *Abettors*. Theſe and the like reflections occaſion'd the writing of this Book, and therefore they cannot reaſonably be term'd *Digreſſions*.

In purſuing the remaining part of this Hiſtory, the League between King *James* and *Lewis* XIV. it cannot be expected that the Treaty it ſelf ſhould be produc'd. Thoſe Arcana of Princes are ſeldom truſted to the Common Miniſtry, and never diſcover'd but by Surprize and Treachery. The Emiſſaries of *Rome* are too Faithful to their Cauſe to betray it, and the Packet is always flung over-board, when the Enemy is like to maſter the Boat. But there are ſo many plain Circumſtances, and ſuch Evidence, that it leaves no room to doubt, but that King *James* if he had ſtay'd wou'd have involv'd this Nation in a War in Conjunction with *France*, to deſtroy that Religion and Liberty we have ever ſince been Fighting to ſave. If we go ſo far back as *Coleman*'s Letters to Sir *William Throgmorton*, the Duke of *York*'s Agent at *Paris*, we ſhall find, that long before the Crown was upon his Head, that Prince had enter'd into the

ſtricteſt

ſtricteſt Engagements with the *French* King. In one of them, dated in *February* 1674, his Secretary tells his Agent, "For "you know well, that when the Duke "comes to be Maſter of our Affairs, the "King of *France* will have Reaſon to pro-"miſe himſelf all things he can deſire. "For according to the mind of the Duke, "the Intereſt of the King of *England*, "the King of *France* and his own are ſo "cloſe bound up together, that it is im-"poſſible to ſeparate the one from the "other, without Ruin to all Three; "but being joyn'd, they muſt notwith-"ſtanding all oppoſition become Invin-"cible." A Celebrated Author in thoſe Times, writes thus of theſe Letters, and this Paſſage in particular, *Thoſe who knew nothing of the League between* England *and* France, *in the Year* 1670, *were extreamly at a Loſs what to make of theſe Words of* Coleman, *ſo expreſs and preciſe, as nothing could be ſaid more. But they who had ſeen the Extract of the League publiſh'd by the Abbot* Primi *eaſily concur'd that they refer'd to the ſecret League of* 1670, *and that the reaſon why the* Engliſh *Court has been ſo induſtrious to maintain and cultivate the Union with* France, *was only in order to preſerve thoſe hidden Intereſts they judg'd inſeparable, tho' the true intereſt of the State was indeed diametrically oppoſite to the entertaining any alliance with a Crown, all whoſe Deſigns were levell'd at the Ruin of* England *and the Proteſtant Religion.*

We find much the ſame Stile in a Letter of Father *La Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, to the ſame *Coleman*. He ſays, *the* French *King conſiders his own Intereſt, and the Intereſt of the Duke of* York, *as one and the ſame thing, and that if the Duke would undertake to diſſolve the Parliament, the* French *King would aſſiſt him with his Power and Purſe, to procure ſuch an one afterwards as might be favourable to their Deſigns.* Is not this ſufficient to prove the ſtricteſt League in the World between the two Princes? Their Intereſts, their Power, their Purſe are Mutual. And wou'd *Lewis* XIV. the greateſt Politician upon Earth, write to a Prince that he wou'd give him his Price to diſſolve one Parliament, and get another, if he did not know himſelf ſure of him by the ſtrongeſt Ties. I do not know what words can be found out more ſtrong to form a League, than *My Intereſt ſhall be Yours, and yours Mine*; the Expreſſions of the Secretary of the One, and the Confeſſor of the Other. It may be objected, ſuch is the Extravagance of Reaſoning at this Time, that their Treaty, if any, was no more than what is common, and what's Lawful among Princes, to ſupport their Authority. That the Duke's Succeſſion was in Danger, and the *French* King was to do no more for him than the *Dutch* are to do for the Houſe of *Hanover*, and we frighted our ſelves with groundleſs Fears of Popery and Slavery. Thus we wrongfully diſmiſt the Father, and

then the Conſequence is obvious. Theſe are the Arguments our Pamphlets, and even our Pulpits uſe as openly as they dare; and forget what *Coleman* writes further of his Maſter the Duke of *York*'s vaſt undertaking in concert with his Ally, the *French* King, who ſhou'd pay for his Work according to the Difficulty of it.

'Tis in a Letter to Father *La Chaiſe*. *We have here a mighty Work upon our hands, no leſs than the Converſion of three Kingdoms, and by that perhaps the ſubduing of a Peſtilent Hereſie, which has domineer'd over a great part of the Northern World a long time; there were never ſuch hopes of Succeſs, ſince the Death of Queen* Mary, *as now in our Days, when God has given us a Prince, who is become (may I ſay to a Miracle) zealous of being the Author and Inſtrument of ſo Glorious a Work.* Yet we have been warring out of Wantonneſs, and ſhall be mad if we continue the Frolick. We began it to rid ourſelves of this *zealous Inſtrument* of Popery, we continue it to prevent the Succeſſion of one ſtill more zealous. The States have engag'd to aſſiſt us againſt him with all their Power. And we to enable them to do it, to procure them ſuch a Barrier as may put them out of any Fear of Interruption from *France*. Yet we get nothing by it all; nothing in our Rights and Properties, nothing in our Religion; which are all at the Mercy of *France* and the Pretender, if the Proteſtant Succeſſion

on does not take effect, which none need queſtion, while we have ſo good Laws, and ſo good Allies on our ſide. There were other Letters of *Coleman*'s found with theſe that were publiſh'd. And other Agents for *France* and Popery in the *Engliſh* Court, which *Coleman* own'd when he was Examin'd. But all wherein the Court and Duke were particularly concern'd were ſuppreſs'd. Add to this that every Act of his Miniſtry and Government, was a plain Indication of his being entirely influenc'd by *French* Councils, and encourag'd by the hopes of formideble helps by *French* Power. The Legiſlative made ſeveral brave attempts to prevent the ſcandal of a Revolution by an Excluſion, convinc'd of that Prince's Intrigues with *France* for our Deſtruction, and will his Son have leſs Paſſion for the Principles of Religion, and Rule in which he has been bred, with an inveterate Reſentment and hopes of Revenge of his pretended Father's hard uſage, and his own in his.

The moſt fooliſh Objection that ever was made to this is, that King *James* ſent an Ambaſſador to Pope *Innocent* XI. who was no Friend to *France*, upon which a late Hiſtorian ſays, *To ſee King* James *neglected in the Pontificate of* Innocent *XI. was not ſo ſtrange, conſidering his Antipathy to a Faction, wherein that Prince was concern'd.* The Faction he means is the *French* againſt the *Auſtrian*, and then goes on thus,

" *In-*

" *Innocent* XI. receiv'd this Ambaſſy " as one that ſaw farther than thoſe who " ſent it; The Ambaſſador had but a " cold Reception of the Holy Father, " and none of the Cardinals but thoſe of " a particular Faction, and the good na- " tur'd Cardinal of *Norfolk*, took any fur- " ther notice of him than good Manners " oblig'd them. The Court of *Rome* were " too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd up- " on by noiſe and ſhow, and knew the " the World too well to expect great " matters from ſuch haſty ill tim'd Ad- " vances, as were made to them, not " only ſo, but *Innocent* having an Aver- " ſion in his Nature to a Faction he " knew King *James* was imbark'd in, " which he never took pains to diſſemble, " was not over fond of an Ambaſſy from " a Prince, who was in an Intereſt he " had long wiſh'd to ſee humbled. King " *James* met with nothing but Mortifica- " tions at *Rome*, in the Perſon of his Am- " baſſador, which occaſion'd his making " as ſhort a ſtay as was poſſible.

It is very well known, that King *James* was cloſely leagu'd with *France*, that not contented with his own Friendſhip, he endeavour'd to procure that of others for *Lewis* XIV. and ſent a Perſon of high Character, whom I ſhall not name, into *Denmark*, to hinder that Crown from joyning with the Proteſtant Princes, and from quitting his Engagements with *France*.

As

As a further Proof of this cloſe Alliance, we find in our publick Prints, that the *French* Proteſtants were not ſecure from the Power of their Monarch in *England*; for the Hiſtorian tells us, in the Compleat Hiſtory, that

" The *French* King purſu'd the Pro-
" teſtant Refugees into *England*, and by
" his Ambaſſador in our Court, reſtrain'd
" them from Complaining of the Hard-
" ſhips they had ſuffer'd. So that here
" in their Place of Refuge, they were to
" undergo another grievous Perſecution;
" which was to be afflicted without da-
" ring to bemoan themſelves. An In-
" ſtance of this new Mortification to
" them, is thus related by Authority.
" Whitehall, May 8. 1686. *The* French
" *Ambaſſador having by a Memorial complain'd*
" *to his Majeſty, that a Book intituled* [Les
" Plaintes, des Proteſtants Cruellement
" Opprimes dans le Rayame, de Fru-
" nce] was ſold and *diſpers'd in this King-*
" *dom, in which Book are many Falſities,*
" *and Scandalous Reflections upon the moſt Chri-*
" *ſtian King*: *And that the ſaid Book was*
" *likewiſe Tranſlated into* Engliſh, *and print-*
" *ed here*; *His Majeſty was pleaſed to order,*
" *that diligent enquiry ſhould be made*
" *after the Tranſlator and Printer of the*
" *ſame, that they may be proſecuted accord-*
" *ing to Law. And that a printed Copy of*
" *the ſaid Book in* French, *and another in*
" Engliſh, *ſhould be publickly burnt by the*
" *Hands of the Common Hangman, which was*

" *accord-*

" *accordingly put in Execution on* Wedneſday " *laſt, before the* Royal Exchange; ſomething like this happen'd in the Caſe of *Matthew Gilliflower* a Bookſeller, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, who having printed a Tranſlation of a Book, publiſh'd at *Vienna*, containing an Account of the Correſpondence between the *French* Court and the *Hungarian* Rebels, was order'd to be proſecuted for it at the Inſtance of the *French* Ambaſſador here, and had he not apply'd to the Imperial Miniſter, who atteſted the Fact to be true, and promis'd him his utmoſt Protection, King *James*'s Severity to that Honeſt Man, wou'd probably have been another confirmation of his Inviolable Friendſhip to *Lewis* XIV. The States of the United Provinces, who know their Intereſt, and purſue it the beſt of any in *Europe*, ſaw plainly what a Union there was between the Kings of *England* and *France*, and it was that doubtleſs which inſtigated them to give the Prince of *Orange* ſuch Aſſiſtance for our Deliverance, and the reſorting of all *Engliſh* Malecontents to *Holland*, gave King *James* juſt Reaſon to expect a Storm thence one time or another.

Theſe mutual Jealouſies between the King and the States of *Holland*, had another Foundation in them. The King was apparently in the Intereſt and Counſels of *France*, which the States had Reaſon to hate and oppoſe; a late Author has deliver'd this good Account of the

Friendſhip

Friendſhip between thoſe Two Crowns.
" While King *James* was thus puſht on by
" a Headſtrong Party, to enſlave his Sub-
" jects, the other Princes and States of
" *Europe*, lookt on with quite different
" Sentiments, according as their own
" Intereſt and Safety mov'd them. The
" greater Part did commiſerate the Fate
" of theſe *Three Kingdoms*, and wiſh'd for
" their Deliverance. The Proteſtants ſaw
" with Regret, that themſelves were
" within an immediate Proſpect of loſing
" the moſt conſiderable Support of their
" Religion; and both *They* and the *Roman*
" *Catholicks*, were equally convinc'd, that
" it was their Common Intereſt to have
" *England* continue in a Condition to be
" Arbiter of *Chriſtendom*; eſpecially at a
" time when they moſt needed it. On
" the other Hand, it was the Intereſt of
" another Prince, that not only the
" King of *England* ſhould be his Friend,
" but that the Kingdom of *England* ſhould
" become inconſiderable Abroad, which it
" could not fail to be, when Enſlav'd at
" Home.

" King *James* had been again and again
" ſollicited, not only by Proteſtant Princes,
" but thoſe of his own Religion, to enter
" into other Meaſures for the Common
" Safety of *Europe*; at leaſt not to contri-
" bute to its Ruin, by eſpouſing an Inte-
" reſt which they judg'd was oppoſite
" to it. The Emperor, among others, had
" by his Ambaſſador, made repeated In-

" ſtances

" ſtances to him to this Purpoſe, but with " no better Succeſs than the reſt, as ap- " pears by a Letter he wrote to him after " his Abdication, which has been Printed " in ſeveral Languages. But all theſe " Remonſtrances had no weight with King " *James*, tho' they had this good Effect " in the end, as to put thoſe Princes and " States upon ſuch Meaſures, as ſecur'd " to them the Friendſhip of *England* in " another way.

" The Power of *France* was by this time " become the Terror and Envy of *Europe*, " and that Crown had upon all ſides " extended its Conqueſts. The *Empire*, " *Spain* and *Holland*, ſeem'd to enjoy a " Precarious Peace, while the Common " Enemy of the *Chriſtian Name*, was ma- " king War with the Emperor and the " State of *Venice*; and was once very near " being Maſter of the Imperial Seat, " whereby he might have carry'd the " War into the Bowels of *Germany*. The " main Strength of the Empire being " turn'd againſt the *Turks*, and that with " various Succeſs there was another War " declar'd againſt the Emperor by *France*; " ſo that it became abſolutely neceſſary " for *Spain* and *Holland*, to interpoſe not " as Mediators, for that they were not " to hope for, but as Allies and Partners " in the War. Theſe laſt, as well as the " other Princes and States that lay near- " eſt the *Rhine*, were expos'd to the Mercy " of a Prince whom they were not able to

" reſiſt,

" reſiſt, if *England* ſhould look on as " Neuter, or take Part againſt them; " the laſt of which, they had reaſon to " fear." It was certainly the juſt Apprehenſions of the reſt of *Europe*, of King *James*'s Private League with *France*, which occaſioned the Treaty of *Augsburgh*, and the firſt Confederacy againſt *Lewis* XIV. And the Concern of that Monarch for King *James*'s Intereſts, prov'd what *Coleman* ſaid, *That they were his own.* The King of *England*'s Councellors were ſo dull, or ſo falſe, that they took no Notice of the *Dutch* Armament by Sea, till they had Intelligence of it from *France*.

Count *D' Avaux*, the *French* Ambaſſador in *Holland*, diſcover'd from many convincing Circumſtances, that their Preparations were intended againſt *England*, and gave Information of it to his Maſter, from whom King *James* had the firſt certain and poſitive Intelligence. The *French* King thought he could not meet with a fairer Opportunity, to engage King *James* in an Offenſive and Defenſive League, than the preſent dangerous Condition of his Affairs, and immediately diſpatch'd Monſieur *Bonrepos* to offer him 30000 Men, which Offer the Earl of *Sunderland*, by his great Dexterity in the management of Critical Affairs, got to be rejected; my Hiſtorian aſſuring us, the Popiſh Cabal were for receiving it. He further informs us, " That the King " of *France* ſeem'd impatient, that his " Brother of *England* would not accept his

Aſſiſtance

" Aſſiſtance nor Advice. But ſtill to ſhew " his Hearty Concern for him, he com- " manded his Ambaſſador the Count " *D' Avaux*, to deliver a Memorial to " the States, which he did on the Ninth " of *September*, 1688. to this Effect. *That many Circumſtances inclin'd the King his Maſter with Reaſon to believe, that their Preparations threatned* England ; *therefore his Majeſty had commanded him to declare to them, that the Ties of Friendſhip and Alliance, between him and the King of* Great Britain, *would oblige him not only to aſſiſt him, but alſo to look on the firſt Act of Hoſtility that ſhould be Committed by their Troops or their Fleet, againſt his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *to be a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace with his Crown.*

The *States General* return'd no Anſwer to this *French* Memorial, but charg'd the *Heer Van Cittars* to complain of it to the Court of *England*. Upon which a Council was held, and it was *Reſolv'd* to diſown the Proceedings of the Count *D' Avaux*. " After all theſe Diſcouragements, *ſays* " *my Author*, Monſieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, made another Propoſal to the *Engliſh* Court, That *France* ſhould abandon the Deſign of beſieging *Philipsburg*, and carry the War into *Holland*. Four or five of the Council highly approv'd the Overture, but others warmly oppos'd it, alledging, That ſuch a Violation of former Treaties with *Holland*, would be ſufficient to raiſe the Clamours of the whole Nation, and to alienate the Minds of the *Engliſh* Pro-

teſtants from his Majeſty. It was this Treacherous Council in ſome of King *James*'s Miniſters, that ſav'd *England*, and if ever Treachery was a Virtue, it was in thoſe that acted it at that time. I verily believe there's not a Man in *England*, who rails at any one of them as a Traytor to King *James*, but 'tis out of Hate to the Treaſon; and how far double dealing is Juſtifiable, when *All* is at Stake for the Safety of that *All*, the Caſuiſts are to inform us. For my part, I can never think ill of the Man to whoſe Wiſdom and Vigilance the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of *England*, are in ſo great a meaſure owing. Nothing can be ſaid more plain and expreſs, than what the Count *D' Avaux* ſays in his Memorial to the States, of which mention is made. Yet about a Month after, came the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, lagging with another Memorial, which gave the Lye to the *French* Miniſter. But which of the Two knew moſt of the matter, let any one judge; whether the Count *D' Avaux*, one of the ableſt Miniſters in *France*, or the Marquis *D' Albyville*, a Perſon that had never been heard of, but on this miſerable Occaſion.

And becauſe there had been a confident Report, That there was a Secret League between the Kings of *England* and *France*, in prejudice to the Intereſt of *Holland* and the common Liberty of *Europe*; Therefore on *October* 6. 1688. N. S.

N. S. The Marqueſs *D' Albyville* (Envoy Extraordinary from his Majeſty) had a Conference with Eight Deputies of the States General, and deliver'd them the following Memorial.

" The underwritten Envoy Extraordinary from the King of *Great Britain* " has receiv'd order to repreſent to " your Lordſhips, that although his Ma- " jeſty had believ'd what he had already " declar'd to your Ambaſſador in *England*; " and the Orders he had given to his ſaid " Envoy Extraordinary, upon the ſame " Subject, might have ſatisfy'd your " Lordſhips, that there is no other Trea- " ty between his Majeſty and the moſt " Chriſtian King, than thoſe that are " Publick and in Print; yet ſince a great " deal of Artifice and Induſtry has " been made uſe of, to make the " World believe, that the King his " Maſter is enter'd into other Treaties " and Alliances with the moſt Chriſtian " King: His Majeſty to ſhew the great " regard he has to the Friendſhip and Al- " liances, which are between him and " your Lordſhips, and his deſire to con- " tinue the ſame, has commanded the " ſaid Envoy Extraordinary in his Name, " to aſſure your Lordſhips, that there is " no other Treaty between his Majeſty " and the moſt Chriſtian King, than thoſe " that are publick and in Print. And " farther, that as his Majeſty extream-

" ly deſires the Preſervation of the Peace
" and Repoſe of Chriſtendom, ſo he will
" alſo be glad to take ſuch meaſures
" with your Lordſhips as may be moſt
" convenient for maintaining the Peace
" of *Nimeguen*, and the Truce of Twenty
" Years concluded in 1684.

Given at the Hague,
October, 5. 1688. *M. D' Albyville.*

My Author obſerves, This Memorial was then ſuſpected to be a Blind, at a juncture when every thing was thought lawful to gain a Point. There was afterwards publiſh'd, An Account of the Private League, betwixt the late King *James* II. and the *French* King, *In a Letter from a Gentleman in* London, *to a Gentleman in the Country*; which is refer'd to by the Author of the Compleat Hiſtory of *England*, and the remaining Part of this Treatiſe is taken from thence.

It pleaſur'd the World with a fit of Laughter, to ſee *Albyville*'s Memorial ſo contrary to that of the *French* Ambaſſador, notwithſtanding he was very well acquainted with the Contents of the Memorial preſented before by the Count *D' Avaux*. But for all that, both the Marquis *de Albyville*, and thoſe who had dictated the *French* Memorial, ſpake nothing but the Truth. The Marquis maintains, in the Name of the King, that there was no Treaty between *England* and

and *France*, but thoſe that are in Print; the Count *de Avaux* aſſerts, that *Lewis* the Fourteenth is engag'd in an Alliance with *James* the Second, and both of them ſpeak true. The Count *de Avaux* ſpeaks with reſpect to the Treaty of 1670. betwixt *Charles* the Second and *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and ſuppoſes, as indeed it cannot be doubted, that the ſaid Treaty has continu'd ever ſince, with deſign to deſtroy *England* and the Proteſtant Religion, which at firſt gave birth to that League. He builds upon this Principle, That the Duke of *York*, who was the great promoter of it, and who, whilſt in that ſtation, acted in conformity to the ſaid Secret Treaty, had ſufficiently ratify'd the ſame ſince his coming to the Crown; which Promotion of his was therefore ſo paſſionately deſir'd, to the end he might more vigorouſly execute the Treaty, which *Charles* the Second did not, for fear of troubling his own Repoſe.

The Marquiſs *de Albyville*, knowing that this Treaty had been printed at *Paris* 1682. in the Hiſtory of the War of *Holland* by the *Abbot Primi*, but ſoon after ſuppreſt at the Inſtances of my Lord *Preſton*, ſuppos'd he might ſay with a good Conſcience, with reſpect to the ſame Treaty, That his Maſter had no Treaty with *France* but what was in Print. So that the ſeeming Contradiction vaniſhes, as ſoon as we conſider the Perſons tha t

ſpeak: The one is the Miniſter of *Lewis* XIV. who is not at all careful to huſband the Intereſts of his Allies, and who thinks he may ſpeak whatever pleaſes him, as he thinks he can compaſs whatever he wills, and accordingly declares the Truth with a great deal of frankneſs: The other is the Miniſter of *James* II. whom the Society of the Jeſuits and their Maxims have model'd for diſguiſing the Truth; and therefore dares not expoſe it, but under covert of an Equivocation; whereby, if he owns what is true, he reſerves to himſelf always the Means, and the Right of denying it, when the owning of it might prove a Prejudice to him.

But not to make any further enlargement here upon the Jeſuitical Character, of which the Marquis *de Albyville* had a competent ſhare, without which Qualification he would ſcarcely have been made choice of for an Extraordinary Envoy: For my part, I cannot ſee how any thing could more evidently confirm the Truth, than the Memorial of the Count *de Avaux*, wherein he poſitively declares, that there was an Alliance between *Lewis* XIV. and *James* II. And I cannot ſee, what the moſt reſolv'd Prejudice can object againſt this Proof, beſides theſe three things which are equally ridiculous.

The firſt is, That King *James* II. is not bound to make good the Words of a *French* Ambaſſador, ſpoken at random.

2*dly*,

2dly, That the Reaſon why the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador did not more punctually contradict the *French* Memorial, proves only at moſt, That he was willing enough to ſee the *Hollanders* affrighted with the apprehenſion of this Secret Alliance between both thoſe Kings, tho' he did not think fitting to confirm the belief of that League, by the Memorial he preſented to the States-General the 5th of *October*; whence it follows, That it may be there was no ſuch League at all, notwithſtanding the *French* Ambaſſador thought neceſſary to advance ſuch a thing contrary to Truth.

The third is, That if the Marquis *de Albyville* were guilty of ſome Fault on this Occaſion, it is not juſt to lay the blame of it upon his Maſter; and the rather, becauſe he was never look'd upon as a very refin'd Miniſter.

In anſwer to theſe;

Firſt, The World knows, that the Memorial of the *French* Ambaſſador was contriv'd at *Paris*, with the concurrence of Mr. *Skelton*, the Ambaſſador of *James* II. Wherefore we cannot pretend that this Declaration was made by the *French* King, without the knowledge of the King of *England*. And tho' Mr. *Skelton*, upon his return from *France*, was committed to the *Tower* for having had a hand in that Memorial, yet we know this was only a Pretext, being ſet at liberty a few days after, made Colonel of a Regiment,

and not long after returning thither, not as a Priſoner, but to be the Governor of it: All which makes it as clear as the Sun, that this was only a feign'd Impriſonment, and not the Puniſhment of an unfaithful diſcharge of a Truſt.

2*dly*, I can no way conceive how any can imagine that the *French* King ſhould take the liberty peremptorily to aſſert an Alliance, when there was nothing at all of it, only becauſe he thought it was his Intereſt ſo to do; and that at the ſame time it was not permitted to *James* II. to diſſemble, in a Caſe where ſuch a Diſſimulation was of uſe to him. But I go further, and ſay, That to diſcover the Myſtery of the affected diſſimulation of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador about the League with *France*, we need only examine the Behaviour of *James* II. after that Declaration of the *French* Ambaſſador to the States-General. If the Count *D' Avaux*, or the King his Maſter, had advanc'd an Untruth, in declaring that there was an Alliance between *Lewis* XIV. and *James* II. which could not be without an infraction of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, of which the King of *England* was declar'd Guarantee; was it not abſolutely neceſſary for King *James* to diſavow that Untruth, as ſoon as he was inform'd what had paſt at the *Hague?* Ought he not to have made reparation of the Fault the Marquis *de Albyville* had committed, by ordering him to explain himſelf fully about the falſe

Suppoſal

Suppoſal of the *French* Ambaſſador? Was it not viſible, that his Honour was extremely concern'd in the Declaration of *France*; and that it was contrary to his Word given to the States-General, after his arrival to the Crown, and which he had ſo often ſince renew'd to their Ambaſſador in Ordinary? Was it not natural for him to expreſs himſelf plainly, inſtead of ſuppreſſing the Fact, as it was done in the *Engliſh Gazette*, publiſh'd by Authority of the Court, and review'd by his Miniſters; where we find indeed the Memorial of the Marquis *de Albyville*, given into the States the 5th of *October*, but not a word of the Memorial the Count *D' Avaux* preſented before? Who ſees not that this his Silence, after the Declaration of the *French* Ambaſſador, is an evident and ſolid Conviction of the Truth of the League between him and *France*? This is made unqueſtionable by the Deſign he had of delivering *Portſmouth* to the *French*, and ſuffering ſeveral of their Regiments to take poſſeſſion of it; which Affair took up much of the time of the Secret Council in *October* and *November* 1687. The thing was not ſo ſecretly carry'd, but that the different Advices given about it came to the knowledge of ſome, as well as the Names of the Authors of them, and the Reaſons which hinder'd the King from following them in that Circumſtance. The hopes he had of getting a Parliament

to

to his mind, that is, ſuch an one as might overthrow the Laws of the Government, that was oppoſite to Popery and Tyranny, were the chief Reaſon, as is well known to many Perſons of Quality, that hinder'd him from taking a Reſolution to make us feel the Effects of that League, before it was declar'd in publick.

And to Crown all theſe Circumſtantial Evidences, did not his ſending away his Pretended Son and his Queen, and at laſt his own flying thither, renouncing the Government of *England*, on any other Terms than would enable him to execute his Clandeſtine Treaties with *France*, demonſtrate that they were more than Gueſſes, and require no ſtronger Proofs to Reaſonable Men and Proteſtants.

To Conclude, If it may be askt what's all this Hiſtory to us, eſpecially the laſt? Are we in any Danger of a Secret Treaty with *France*? To this I anſwer, and to the laſt Objection firſt. We cannot be in any Danger from HER MAJESTY, of any thing contrary to our Good and Safety: Her bold and early Concern for us at the *Revolution*, in which She was pleas'd to have a ſhare; Her readineſs in all Her Glorious Reign, to do whatever Her Subjects deſir'd of Her, and even to prevent their Deſires, are Arguments with all Loyal Men, that as we can have no greater Bleſſing than ſuch a Sovereign, ſo

we

we can have no greater Loſs than to loſe Her. And when we have no more Her Piety, Her Goodneſs and Her Care to Protect us, if we ſhould be ſo Wicked as to Countenance thoſe Principles which made the *Revolution* neceſſary, and would perhaps then make another, we may in vain hope for another Deliverer, having ſo ill deſerv'd of the laſt. Wherefore we cannot enough expoſe thoſe Doctrines, thoſe Men and thoſe Practices, which brought us once ſo near the Brink of Ruin, that without the immediate help of Providence, it had been inevitable. All our Miſeries have ariſen from our Friendſhips with *France*, who is, and ever will be our Mortal Enemy, and as ſuch we ought to deteſt every one, that ſhews any Inclination to favour her Intereſt, or the Maxims by which ſhe Governs.

I have very good Reaſon, why I have not explain'd my ſelf further, in ſeveral Parts of this Treatiſe, and ſo good an Opinion of my *Readers*, that I cannot think they will need any Light, in Matters that are of ſo General Concern.

FINIS.

THE INDEX.

A.

Abhorrence Teſt, the Hiſtory of it, p. 159. & ſeq. *Debated* 17 *Days*, p. 195. *Act* 12, Car II. *the Meaſure of Obedience*, 164.

Albyville, *Marquis of, his Memorial to the States of* Holland, p. 243.

Allies obliged to Communicate every thing to one another, p. 18.

Ambrun, *Archbiſhop, his Honeſt Declaration*, p. 71, 72.

Antimonarchical Principles diſgrac'd p. 167.

Arlington *Lord, what an Enemy to* France, p. 99. *A merry Notion of his*, 105. *His Reaſons why Madam was not Poiſon'd*, 113. *His Integrity*, 117.

Arms taken by the King's Authority againſt his Perſon debated, p. 180.

Auſtria *Houſe, of its Greatneſs always exaggerated by* France, p. 20.

Biſhops

B.

Biſhops, Good or Bad as the Court is, p. 165.
The great Merit of the preſent, p. 190.
Buat, *his Tragical Story for being againſt* France, p. 45, 46.
Buckingham, *Duke of, his Converſation with the Princeſs Dowager of* Orange, p. 148.

C.

Charles II. *His Secret Correſpondence with* France, p. 60, 61. *Helps the* French *King to Ships and Naval Stores,* 64, 66, 67, 90. *Intrigues with* France, 90, 93, 96. *His Weighty Reaſon for the ſecond* Dutch *War,* 94, 95. *His Intrigues with* France, 101, &ſeq. *His Gratitude to the* Dutch, 103, 106. *Set againſt them by the* French, 134. *How he imitated the* French *King's Stile,* 138, *for Tolerating Popery in* Holland, 142, 145. *Sollicites for Money from* France, p. 204, 206, 210.

Church Government Unalterable, Debates about it, p. 183.

Church of England, *the only Proteſtant Church,* p. 185, 186, 187.
Debated, Ibid.

Clifford *Lord, his Manners to the* Dutch, pag. 118. *His Project for a Spunge and Popery,* 136.
Contradiction, the greateſt that ever was in the World, if D' Eſtrades *is to be believ'd,* p. 50.
Councellors Privy, diſmiſt for being againſt France, p. 107.
Councils, Fluctuation of in England, p. 2.
Treacherous for the beſt, p. 242.
Credit always ſunk by French *Councils,* p. 41.

D.

D. E. *of* Ld. Tr. *the Parliament againſt him,* p. 198. *The King's Meſſage,* 200. *Only follow'd the Lord* Arlington, *in the Money Affair,* 205. *In the P. of* Orange's *Intereſt,* p. 208. *His Letter about the Money,* p. 209, *to the Prince of* Orange *on a contrary Subject,* 211. *The Articles of Impeachment,* p. 213. *Brings the* Popiſh *Plot into Parliament,* p. 215. *Falls into the King's Diſpleaſure about it,* 216. *The Proſecution,* 217, & ſeq. *His Opinion of the* French *Court,* p. 226.
Dead Weight, ſee p. 166.
D' Eſtrades, *Count of, his Diſſimulation,* p. 5. *His Secret Correſpondence with* De Wit, p. 15. *Propoſes to his Maſter, to lend King* Charles 10000 *Men againſt his own Subjects,* p. 60. *His Letters gelt by the* Dutch. p. 61.
Digreſſion about continuing the War, p. 157.

Dutch, *what had like to have ruin'd them in Seventy Two*, p. 6. *The Worſt of them againſt the Prince of* Orange, p. 21, 22. *What Names were given to the States by the Lord* Clifford, p. 118. French *Penſioners among the* States, p. 220.

E.

Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, the Tories againſt it, p. 173, 189.
England, French *Councils prevail there*, p. 14. *A* French *Miniſtry there*, p. 148. *What a fine Bargain they made for their Maſter*, p. 151. *How they deceiv'd the* Dutch, p. 153. *Their Affection for* France, p. 154. *Their Love of Liberty*, p. 181.
Engliſh *reckon'd great Aſſaſſins by the* French *King*, p. 52. *Bubbles to him*, p. 63. *Againſt the* Dutch *War*, p. 75.
Exchequer ſhut up, p. 134. & ſeq.
Excommunication of Princes, A Word of it. p. 191.

F.

Favourites, ill ones, Courted by their Betters, p. 40.
French, *their Double Dealing with* England *and* Holland. p. 63.
French *Miniſters, the Duke of* L's *Character of them*, p. 226.
Frivolous Objections to the French *King's Right to* Spain. p. 53.

Gold,

G.

Gold, French, *how fatal to* England, p. 151.
Our Safety from it now, p. 152.

H.

Hallifax, *Lord Viſcount*, *his Speech againſt State Oaths*, p. 177.
Hollis Denzil, *Lord*, *his Courage and Publick Spirit*, p 170.
Hotteman, *a* Dutch *Miniſter*, *turn'd out for Preaching againſt the* French *King*, p. 38.
Hyde, *Chancellor*, *the Charges againſt him*, p. 75, 76.

J.

James II. *His Secret Intrigue with* France, p. 227, & ſeq. *His Friends Objection to it*, p. 227, 228. *Why the Pope us'd his Ambaſſador ill*, p. 234. *His Secret League with* France *prov'd*, 245, & ſeq
Independency of the Church Aſſerted and Queſtioned, p. 188, 189.

K.

King's Word, *of better Security than a Goldſmith's Note*, p. 135. *None can do too much for one*, p. 193.

Lauder-

L.

Lauderdale, *Duke of, Prime Miniſter for Gallantry,* p. 118.
La Chaiſe, *Father, his Letters,* p. 232.
Letters about Madam's being Poiſon'd, p. 109, 110, 111, 112, 113. *About Money from* France, p. 203.
Lewis XIV. *Praiſes his own Modaration,* p. 5. *Promiſes to aſſiſt* De Wit, p. 15, 16, *Has a great Intereſt in* Holland, p. 22. *Falls out with* England, *to favour* De Wit *and his Friends,* p. 33. *Declares for that Miniſtry,* p. 34. *Deals Doubly with the* Dutch, p. 36. *Breaks his Word with* De Wit, 44, 54. *Begs the Count* D' Eſtrades *to paſs his Word for him,* p. 47. *A Scandalous Report againſt him and King* Charles II. p. 50. *A Man of his Word,* 53, 54, 71. *His Uſage of the Duke of* Lorrain, 78. *His Intrigues in* Poland, 74, 86. *In* Hungary, Ibid. *In* Sweden, 87. *His ſtrong Reaſons for Invading* Holland, p. 138, 139. *Treacherous to King* Charles, 140. *His Intrigues with him,* 153. *A Character of him,* 155. *To whom he paid Penſions,* 205. *Who was the Occaſion of his Conqueſts in* Flanders, Ibid. *His Friendſhip with King* James, 238, 239.
Libels, all Books againſt Tyranny, ſo reckon'd of Courſe, p. 49. *Another ſort of Libels,* p. 53.
Lorrain, *Duke of, how us'd by* France, p. 72. *Abandon'd by King* Charles, p. 98.

Lorrain Chevalier De, *Poiſon'd the Dutcheſs of* Orleans, p. 113.
Louveſtein *Faction in* Holland, *what they were*, p. 27.

M.

Maeſtricht, *the* Dutch *about to ſell it to the* French, p. 36.
Magnificence for the Publick Good, p. 124.
Majority of the States Aſſembly in Holland, *for the* French *Intereſt*, p. 26. *and contrary to the People's Sentiments*, Ibid.
Maritime Powers, have but one Intereſt, p. 149.
Medal, an Inſolent One of De Wits, p. 94.
Memorial, a good one againſt the French, p. 54, & ſeq.
Merit, when in Diſgrace, p. 70.
Miniſtry, a Frenchify'd *One under* De Wit, p. 37. *Afraid of the Succeſſion of the Prince of* Orange, p. 44 *Help the* French *in their Fleet and Trade*, p. 65.
Monarchy Univerſal, the French *King neareſt to it*, p. 74.
Monk *always againſt the* Dutch, p. 75.
Mountague, *Duke of, his Letters about the Poiſoning of Madam*, p. 109, 110, 111, 112, 113. *His Negotiation in* France, *in concert with the E. of* D. 158. *He prevents the E. of* D, p. 200. *His Conference with M.* Ruvigny, *about Money from* France, p. 201. *His Letter from* France *about it*, p. 203. *His Zeal for the Publick afterwards*, p. 204, 213.

O.

Oath of Abhorrence, what it was to have been. p. 162.
Oaths State, the Lord Hallifax's *Speech againſt them,* p. 177.
Oath, a good one propos'd by the Marquis of Wincheſter, p. 192.
Orleans, *Dutcheſs of, an Account of her being Poiſon'd,* 108, & ſeq.

P.

Papiſts, *Care taken of their Intereſts,* p. 184.
Parliament of England, *what the* French *call them,* p. 106.
Peace with France, *and War with* Holland, *why ſome are for it,* p. 198.
Peers Houſe, of our Happineſs in them, p. 173.
Perſecution always promoted by the French *Faction,* p. 45, & ſeq.
Places, Men cannot do too much for them, p. 193. *Who ſaid ſo,* Ibid.
Plenipotentiaries Engliſh, *their Praiſe of the* French, p. 115.
Popiſh Lords ſtand by Liberty againſt the Tories, p. 195, 196.
Prieſthood would ſhare ſomething with the Prince, p. 173.
Preſs, who are againſt it, p. 42, 49. *Who afraid of it, and why,* Ibid.

Pretender, the *Danger of him*, p. 228.
Primi Abbot, *the Story of his Book about the Secret League between* Lewis XIV. *and King* Charles II. p. 92.
Proteſtants French, *Perſecuted in* England, p. 236.
Proteſtation of ſeveral Lords, p. 168, 169, 171, 175.

Q.

Queries, *Secretary* Trevor's, p. 145. *for the* Dutch *Intereſt againſt* France, p. 147.

R.

Rabble, *a very ill Foundation to Build on*, p. 41. *Eſpecially for Miniſters of State*, 127. *Better than an ill Miniſtry*, p. 133.
Religion Proteſtant, *Debates whether no Churches are of it but the Church of* England, p. 165.
Renunciation of Spain, *why the* French *King's not good*, p. 12.
Reſiſtance, *ſuch as at the Revolution*, *Debates about it in the laſt Long Parliament*, p. 179. *Of Perſons Commiſſion'd by the King*, *Debated*, p. 181.
Ruvigny, Mr. De, *now* E. *of* Galway, *ſent to* England *by the* French *King*, *and for what*, p. 207.

S.

Seymour, *Sir* Edward, *a Great Patriot*, p. 76.
Shaftsbury, *Earl of*, *his Speech about Church Government*, p. 184.

Spaniſh *Succeſſion, the* French *King put in for it before the Death of the late King*, p. 53. 54.
Speech of the Cabal to King Charles II. p. 103.
Of the Lord Hallifax *againſt State Oaths*, p. 177. *Earl of* Shaftsbury's *about Church Government*, p. 184. *And the Proteſtant Religion*, p. 185.
Spunge, the firſt of that kind, ſince the Reſtauration, p. 134.
Stateſmen, their Miſerable Condition, p. 68, 100, 109. *When ſupported only by Faction*, p. 122.
Sunderland, *Earl of, prevents the coming of a* French *Army to aſſiſt King* James, p. 240.
Swedes, *great Friends to* France, p. 87, 119, 120. *Deal Doubly in the Triple League*, p. 202.

T.

Temple, *Sir* William, *his Deſcription of Faction*, 69. & ſeq. *No Friend to* France, 115, 116. *What he foretold of* De Wit's *Fate*, p. 127.
Towns taken, and the Peace not broke, p. 54. 72.
Tory Miniſtry Stanch, Vid. p. 108. *Their Deſign*, p. 160, 161, 164. *Worſe than the* Papiſts, p. 195
Treaty, a Clandeſtine one between the French *King and the* Dutch *Miniſters*, p. 8, 14. *And King* Charles II. 96.
Treaſurer Lord, gives the Word and Sign, p. 188.
Trickers as Cowardly as Knaves, p. 43. *Courted by the* French *King*, 82. *The greateſt in the World*, Ibid.

Triple

Triple League a Diſſembled Union, p. 3. *Upon what Accounnt form'd*, p. 77. *Not minded by the* French, p. 78. *Fatal to the* Dutch, p. 88. *Treated by the* French *Factions as Ridiculous*, p. 90. *Never intended to be kept in* England, 97. *Broken by* French *Money*, 120, & ſeq. 202.
Turks, *The* Dutch *afraid of their overrunning them*, p. 11.

W.

Waldeck *Count of, hated by the* French, p. 79.
War, the Two Dutch, *the Occaſion of the* French *Greatneſs at Sea*, p. 64.
Wiſe and Good, when laid aſide, p. 70.
Wit Jacob De, *the Father his Story*, p. 28.
Wit Cornelius De, *ſpares the* French *Fleet in the War of* 72, p. 123, 128. *Attack'd*, Ibid. *Forc'd to ſubmit to the P. of* O. 129. *Torn in Pieces by the People*, p. 131, 132.
Wit John De, *His Deſign to form a Republick of the* Spaniſh Netherlands, p. 4. & ſeq. *A Friend to the* French *King*, p. 6, 7. *His Secret Treaty with* France, p. 10. *Againſt the* French *King's Renunciation of* Spain, p. 13. *Much his Friend*, Ibid 17. *Clandeſtine Commerce with* France, p. 18. *Ill Men only joyned with him*, p. 22. *Againſt the Intereſt of his Country*, p. 23, 25. *His Miniſtry Myſterious*, p. 24. *Ventures all, rather then part with his Place*, p. 30. *Is afraid*, p. 32. *For the* French, p. 38. *Packs the* States, p. 41, 58. *The* French *Ambaſſador*

baſſador helps him, Ibid. *Has a Chimerical Genius*, p. 44. *For making Viſionary Settlements*, 45. *For the* French p. 47. *Will not let them be ſpoken ill off*, p. 49. *A Frank Honeſt Man in the* Fr. *King's Opinion*, p. 52. *He deſpiſes the Memorial againſt* France, p. 56. *His Pride*, p. 57. *Will do any thing to keep his Place*, Ibid. 58. *For a New General*, Ibid. *But could not carry it for his own Man*, Ibid. *His Cruelty*, p. 59. *His Prevarication in the Triple League*, 80, 82, 83. *Againſt Antimonarchical Principles*, p. 84. *He was either a Friend to* France, *or not a match for their Miniſters*, p. 85, 86. *Hates the* Engliſh, p. 94. *His Inſolence*, Ibid. *His Fear of looſing his Place, ruin'd his Country*, p. 122. *Pretends to great Thrift*, 123. *The Oppoſite Party prevail*, p. 125. *Swoons*, Ibid. *The People enrag'd againſt him*, p. 126. *Aſſaulted*, p. 128. *Credit ſinks*, p. 129. *The Charges againſt him. He is torn in Pieces by the People*, p. 131, 132.

Y.

Yacht, a fine Story of one, p. 138, 139, & ſeq.

York, *Duke of, his Hatred of the* Dutch, p. 67.

THE END.